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SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE.

" If the choice were to be made between Communism, with all its chances, and the present state of society, with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it, as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse proportion to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life : if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism, would be but as dust in the balance."—JOHN STUART MILL.

SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE;
OR,
REASONS AND MEANS
FOR THE
DEMOLITION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF
THE SOCIAL EDIFICE.

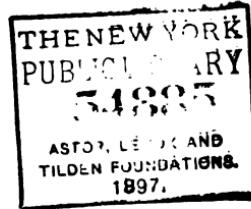
BY
AN EXILE FROM FRANCE.



London:
SAMUEL TINSLEY,
10, SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND.

1876.

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P R E F A C E.

THE author of this work, an exile from France, though not a Frenchman, feels himself in duty bound to express his warmest gratitude both to the country which he was forced to quit, and to the one which he was compelled to adopt as a place of refuge. To France he offers his hearty thanks for having initiated him into socialism by means of that inestimable liberty of the Press and public discussion which distinguished the reign of Louis Philippe towards the latter years of its existence; and to England he is still more profoundly indebted for that generous asylum, with all its noble privileges of freedom, the enjoyment of which, for more than a quarter of a century, has enabled him to pursue, peaceably and without molestation, his studies in sociology. In living under the liberal institutions of both countries, in deriving instruction and encouragement from the high attainments of their socialistic literature, and in enjoying the proverbial hospitality of their inhabitants, the author was enabled to bring to maturity a plan for a comprehensive sys-

tem of social regeneration, and to procure the means of bringing it before the public. How the social theories of the author gradually developed themselves into Communism and how they finally culminated in the conception of the social system to be described in this book, depended entirely upon circumstances over which he had little or no control, as will be seen from the following few sketches from his political and literary career.

For having, at Paris, taken part in the great demonstration of the 12th of June, 1849, when the National Assembly was invaded by the people, and when Louis Blanc and Barbès attempted to form a Provisional Government at the Hotel de Ville, the author was first imprisoned and then exiled from France by ministerial decree, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon; and the police took precautions for his safe embarkation at Boulogne for England, having previously refused him a place of refuge in any other country, although Belgium and Switzerland would have admitted him with the same facility and generosity as England; and although Germany and Italy were at the time open, not only to stray refugees, but to compact legions of armed men who, starting from Paris, crossed the frontiers from France into Germany, Italy, and Poland. The author owes no grudge to France for his imprisonment and expulsion, because both of these repressive measures have been to a great extent the very means of maturing and fortifying his political and communistic ideas, the previous inculcation of which had been effected by frequent visits to the lectures of the socialistic schools then flourishing in Paris, especially to those of the Phalansteriens,

which were held in the offices of the *Democratie Pacifique*, and where Considerant, the intelligent and amiable advocate of Fourierism and acknowledged leader of that peculiar school of socialism, drew large audiences. In La Conciergerie, the author became fellow-prisoner with Proudhon, whose discussions on the social question with other prisoners, nearly all literary men and advocates of various sorts of Socialism and Communism, had the greatest influence on the author's previous knowledge of Socialism; and it was chiefly owing to Proudhon's striking and convincing arguments on the unjust institution of private property, that he began to incline towards the communistic doctrine. The French Government having been unable to procure any proofs of the author's participation in the affair of the 12th of June, the principal actors of which were subsequently tried at Bourges or escaped imprisonment, like Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, by timely flight to England, the author was released, after having been detained for nearly two months. His expulsion from France, which immediately followed his release, was decreed for the sole purpose of getting rid of a zealous advocate of socialism; for the French police had found amongst the papers of the suspected conspirator a prospectus of a co-operative working men's association. "Quelle horreur! c'est un homme dangereux pour la societé!" Having arrived in free England, the author was at once introduced to the German Working Men's Society, where he was particularly charmed and instructed by Karl Marx's lectures on Communism, and where he became likewise acquainted with the celebrated "Manifesto of the Communistic Party," written by Marx and

Engels. Frequent visits to the reading-room of the British Museum introduced him to the works of Plato, Sir Thomas More, Robert Owen, Stuart Mill, John Ruskin, Fitzjames Stephen, and others; and the influence of the writings of these great men, coupled with the instruction derived from the daily papers, amongst which the author owes a special debt of gratitude to the *Daily News*, the highly-esteemed and influential organ of the Liberal party in England, and to the *Beehive*, the accredited representative of the working classes of Great Britain; as also the information obtained from the Government publications, the so-called Blue Books, could not fail to bring to completion the communistic system to be described in this work. Robert Owen's appearance in Paris shortly after the February revolution of 1848, when permission was granted to him for a public exposition of his doctrine in the National Assembly itself, as also his subsequent meetings and conferences in London, left another indelible impression of the importance and excellency of Communism in the mind of the author. Of him it may, therefore, truly be said that, concerning the growth of his social theories, he was the creature of circumstances; for if he had never come to France, but had preferred staying in his native place (Feldbach, in Styria), his mind would in all likelihood have remained void of, and perhaps even opposed to, every speculation in the social science; and if he had not been obliged to seek refuge in England, his conceptions of socialism would probably have never assumed the communistic character under which they now appear in this work. But however radical his proposals for the demolition and reconstruction

of the social edifice will appear to many a reader, they go in reality no further than those suggested by Plato, Sir Thomas More, Robert Owen, and Stuart Mill; and he hopes that the system of social regeneration propounded in this work will be regarded with due allowance for its origin, as being an almost literal reproduction of the communistic ideas entertained by many great writers on the social problem, and which the author has endeavoured to combine and to arrange into a systematic whole.

The author withholds his name in deference to the well-known tenet of French Democracy, "Les hommes ne sont rien, les principes sont tout,"—"Men are nothing, principles are everything." No name can sanctify principles. Truth is their only touchstone, advocate, and disseminator.

LONDON, *March, 1876.*

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richly clad matron, with her charmingly dressed little daughters around her, would pass in the most leisurely and indifferent manner a crowd of half-naked, half-starved, and dirt-covered urchins of the same age as that of her own children; and if the latter would ask her why those poor little children did not wash themselves, why they did not comb their hair, or, going barefooted, if they washed their feet before going to bed, and why their parents did not buy them any better clothes—the answer she would have to give to these innocent inquirers would be of so shocking and degrading a nature, that she would most decidedly shrink from imparting the true knowledge of it to her well-bred, well-clad, well-washed, and well-fed children. For if she would tell them the truth, she would have to say that these poor children never washed themselves, and never combed their hair, because they were neglected by their parents, who never taught them the ways of cleanliness; concerning the apprehension of her daughters, that the dirty feet of those poor children might soil the bedclothes, if they were not washed before going to bed, she would have to reveal the shocking fact, that their dirty feet would not soil any bed, for they had none to lie on; and as to the neglect of their parents in not providing them with better clothing, she would have to refer to the fact, that the parents are, probably, as miserably clad as their children. Should the rich matron really venture to make these revelations to her children, an exclamation of pity, a remark of commiseration, an utterance of astonishment, may, very naturally, escape from the rosy lips of her little ones.

If it is but natural that pity should even be expressed by little children at the sight of poverty-stricken human beings, it seems however, on the contrary, to be most unnatural that some of the adult population, and especially the wealthier classes of society, should regard the existence of poverty, even when it becomes the lot of little children, as a natural result of the economical laws that govern society; while others try to excuse it as a dispensation of Divine Providence, and are always ready to refer to Holy Writ, frequently quoting: "The poor you have always with you;" "The poor shall never cease out of the land;"

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shirts, shoes, or stockings, and not one clean face in the lot; they were hungry most likely, and the late comers certainly cold, as they gazed "on the glowing fire hungrily, as if it were meat and drink to them, as well as heat." This was a general threepenny lodging. In an apartment close to, he found a poor Irishman, broken down with rheumatism, lying in solitude on his poor bed. His wife, happily for her, is dead. Two of his children occupied with him his sick bed; the eldest girl had "gone bad"; and with all this to torture him he lay here—"helpless, hungry, and penniless." In another room, a middle-aged woman was brooding in the darkness over a scrap of fire; her husband is in prison, her children are in the gutter, and "she is almost fierce in her abrupt despairing replies." The scene shifts. "In the dingy bar of a low public-house, half-a-dozen haggard, gin-sodden, dishevelled women are fighting and cursing,—yelling oaths at each other that make one's blood run cold as they tear each other's hair and rend the rags off each other's bosoms."

On these descriptions of hidden poverty and maddened wretchedness, a writer in the *Beehive* adds the following reflections:—"In all districts of London these dens of poverty are to be found—sometimes touching on the gorgeous fringe of our most aristocratic quarters, sometimes grouped grimly in the desolate outside regions of poverty and crime, unshamed by the proximity of wealth and splendour; everywhere hopelessly lost to all sense of such comfort, feeling, or aspiration, as can give happiness or dignity to life. In this case we do not think that the writer exaggerates, for the simple reason that, in regard to the lowest depths of our poverty and vice, we cannot believe exaggeration possible. We see on our streets every day crowds of wretches so ragged, so haggard, so dehumanized, so altogether shocking in what they reveal of life,—the outward as well as the inward,—that we dare not, even in imagination, follow them to the haunts where their darker and more secret lives are passed. The revelations are, in truth, horrible. Except when thus exposed, these poor wretches are not noticed, and we go about our business and pursue our pleasures every day as if they did not exist."

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ECONOMY, LABOUR-ARRANGEMENT, EDUCATION, LAW, POLICE
MILITARY, POOR-RELIEF, ETC.*

ERRATA.

Page 30, 15th line from bottom, read "risk, loss" for "risk and loss".
 " 31, 4th " " top " " proprietores;" " proprietors,".
 " 37, 11th " " " looks" " look ".
 " 46, 12th " " " which is" " and is ".
 " 51, 9th " " " and to the" " and the ".
 " 64, 4th " " " which often" " and often ".
 " 80, 3rd " " " arrangement" " arrangement ".
 " 167, 18th " " " money-lending" " money-leading "
 " 393, 8th " " " as in France" " as France ".

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CAPITAL DEFECTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EXISTING SOCIAL EDIFICE.

CHAPTER I.—PAUPERISM.

TO the humane notions of the social reformer, the anarchical state of so-called civilized society presents itself under the most hideous aspects. Most appalling appears to him the contrast between squalid poverty and opulent riches, so frequently exhibited in the streets of modern cities, where ladies and gentlemen, dressed in the costliest and most comfortable attire, move amongst, or follow in close proximity, and in an unconcerned manner, repulsive human forms,—men, women, and children; barely clad in dirty rags, often shoeless, generally unwashed and unkempt, and often in such a filthy condition that their presence alone should suffice to drive cleanly dressed people away from the streets and public walks infested with these vehicles of loathsome rags, sores, and vermin. But such is the indifference of the public to these repulsive exhibitions of poverty, that not the least aversion is felt at their unsightly presence, and not the slightest notice is taken of the degradation of man; who, though lord of the creation, is, in his lowest types of poverty, less capable of ridding himself of filth and vermin than a dog. The

richly clad matron, with her charmingly dressed little daughters around her, would pass in the most leisurely and indifferent manner a crowd of half-naked, half-starved, and dirt-covered urchins of the same age as that of her own children; and if the latter would ask her why those poor little children did not wash themselves, why they did not comb their hair, or, going barefooted, if they washed their feet before going to bed, and why their parents did not buy them any better clothes—the answer she would have to give to these innocent inquirers would be of so shocking and degrading a nature, that she would most decidedly shrink from imparting the true knowledge of it to her well-bred, well-clad, well-washed, and well-fed children. For if she would tell them the truth, she would have to say that these poor children never washed themselves, and never combed their hair, because they were neglected by their parents, who never taught them the ways of cleanliness; concerning the apprehension of her daughters, that the dirty feet of those poor children might soil the bedclothes, if they were not washed before going to bed, she would have to reveal the shocking fact, that their dirty feet would not soil any bed, for they had none to lie on; and as to the neglect of their parents in not providing them with better clothing, she would have to refer to the fact, that the parents are, probably, as miserably clad as their children. Should the rich matron really venture to make these revelations to her children, an exclamation of pity, a remark of commiseration, an utterance of astonishment, may, very naturally, escape from the rosy lips of her little ones.

If it is but natural that pity should even be expressed by little children at the sight of poverty-stricken human beings, it seems however, on the contrary, to be most unnatural that some of the adult population, and especially the wealthier classes of society, should regard the existence of poverty, even when it becomes the lot of little children, as a natural result of the economical laws that govern society; while others try to excuse it as a dispensation of Divine Providence, and are always ready to refer to Holy Writ, frequently quoting: "The poor you have always with you;" "The poor shall never cease out of the land;"

and "Blessed* are the poor;"—but generally omitting to mention the injunction of Christ to the rich man: "Go, and sell all you possess, and give the proceeds therefrom to the poor."

Poverty is not only a saddening sight when exhibited publicly by children, in whom it is yet frequently combined with playfulness and frolic, but very saddening, moreover, is the idea of a great amount of unseen poverty hidden in workhouses, in the hovels of the agricultural population, and in the tenements of the inhabitants of overcrowded cities. In many cases poverty does not exhibit itself to public gaze in the streets and thoroughfares, and hunger hiding in the stomach is not always discernible in the features of the starving person,—for the careworn face looks very much like that which reflects the sting of hunger in its aspect. The cold suffered from insufficient fuel may in many instances be very painful, but it remains hidden from us, because we do not enter those dwellings of the poor in which they suffer from want of warmth. Startling disclosures of an enormous amount of hidden poverty have, however, of late been made by the public press, and the existence of whole dens of squalor and misery in the midst of the richest nation of Europe has been made known.

A veritable pandæmonium of wretchedness was described by a writer in the *Daily News* of the 26th Dec., 1872, who inspected certain localities in the East End of London, for the purpose of acquainting the public of the unhappy condition of some of the people at the very time when others were comfortably celebrating a happy Christmas. This description shows how diabolical and deadly are the social plague-spots that fester in secret on the very vitals of our social system.

The first place he visited, he found in a large back room several forms, and a huge bright charcoal fire. On the seats around the fire two dozen men and boys sat, in various stages of dirt and dilapidation, for the most part without

* If poverty is a state of blessedness, why don't the rich change places with the poor?"—M. CABET.

shirts, shoes, or stockings, and not one clean face in the lot ; they were hungry most likely, and the late comers certainly cold, as they gazed "on the glowing fire hungrily, as if it were meat and drink to them, as well as heat." This was a general threepenny lodging. In an apartment close to, he found a poor Irishman, broken down with rheumatism, lying in solitude on his poor bed. His wife, happily for her, is dead. Two of his children occupied with him his sick bed ; the eldest girl had "gone bad" ; and with all this to torture him he lay here—"helpless, hungry, and penniless." In another room, a middle-aged woman was brooding in the darkness over a scrap of fire ; her husband is in prison, her children are in the gutter, and "she is almost fierce in her abrupt despairing replies." The scene shifts. "In the dingy bar of a low public-house, half-a-dozen haggard, gin-sodden, dishevelled women are fighting and cursing,—yelling oaths at each other that make one's blood run cold as they tear each other's hair and rend the rags off each other's bosoms."

On these descriptions of hidden poverty and maddened wretchedness, a writer in the *Beehive* adds the following reflections :—"In all districts of London these dens of poverty are to be found—sometimes touching on the gorgeous fringe of our most aristocratic quarters, sometimes grouped grimly in the desolate outside regions of poverty and crime, unshamed by the proximity of wealth and splendour ; everywhere hopelessly lost to all sense of such comfort, feeling, or aspiration, as can give happiness or dignity to life. In this case we do not think that the writer exaggerates, for the simple reason that, in regard to the lowest depths of our poverty and vice, we cannot believe exaggeration possible. We see on our streets every day crowds of wretches so ragged, so haggard, so dehumanized, so altogether shocking in what they reveal of life,—the outward as well as the inward,—that we dare not, even in imagination, follow them to the haunts where their darker and more secret lives are passed. The revelations are, in truth, horrible. Except when thus exposed, these poor wretches are not noticed, and we go about our business and pursue our pleasures every day as if they did not exist."

Dr. Ross, the medical officer of St. Giles's, describes the social nuisance of common lodging-houses of Bloomsbury in these words:—"Tramps, wife-deserters, beggars, pick-pockets, and women of bad repute, occupy the common lodging-houses in this quarter (the southern portion of St. Giles's). There are more than 2,000 of these persons, the large majority of whom are single, or at least live as celibates. They are, nevertheless, prolific. A considerable amount of the sickness and mortality in St. Giles's, and a large portion of the cost for supporting its pauperism, are caused by the occupants of these houses. These lodging-houses are, moreover, the seething hot-beds of depravity and crime, and being adjacent to the habitations of the lowest class of our labouring poor, the indecent and immoral habits of the population infect whole streets, and cast a gloomy shadow of squalor and vice over the whole locality."

William Hoyle, in his pamphlet on "The Waste of Wealth," gives the following account of the actual amount and cost of pauperism existing in England:—

	PAUPERS.	RATES PAID.
1867	931,546	£10,905,173
1868	992,640	11,380,593
1869	1,018,140	11,773,999
1870	1,032,800	11,737,613
1871	1,037,360*	12,092,119
		<hr/> £57,890,119

He remarks on these figures:—"These tables reveal a lamentable state of things, for whilst our foreign trade during the last twenty-five years has increased upwards of

* The Society for the Suppression of Mendicity, state in their report, read at the fifty-sixth anniversary meeting, May 11th, 1874, that the number of metropolitan paupers had during the year decreased from 109,851 to 105,795, but that the number of applicants who had been relieved by the Society's tickets for the year was 6,683 persons; 445 more than the year before, and more than in any previous year since 1869. Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., Chairman of the Society, expressed the regret that whilst pauperism in the country had been on the decline, beggary had increased. In 1873-74 the total number of persons receiving public alms was 817,822, or one for thirty-eight of the population.

360 per cent., placing the wealth of the world very much at our disposal, our bill for poor and police rates has increased to sixty-seven per cent., though the population during the same period has only increased thirty-five per cent. The returns of the number of paupers published by the Poor Law Board, do not, however, give us a complete view of the pauperism of the country. They supply us only with the number of paupers who are on the books of the different unions, say, on the 1st of January or the 25th of March; but during the course of the year numbers come and go, getting relief for a week or a month, and, perhaps, for several months, but who are not on the books on the day when the returns are made up. The complete returns of all persons applying for relief during the whole of any one year have never been taken but once, in the year 1857; and Mr. Purdy, of the statistical department of the Poor-law Board, says that to get the whole of the applications for relief, the number of persons who are on the books on one day must be multiplied by three and a half. The number of paupers on the books in England and Wales on Ladyday, 1871, was 1,081,926. Multiplying this by three and a half, it gives 3,786,741 paupers as applying for relief in England and Wales during the year 1871. In addition to these there are large numbers in a state of destitution who never apply to the parish. They get aid from other sources,* or they starve rather than ask for relief. If we estimate these at half a million, added to the others it gives us over 4,000,000 persons, out of a population of 22,000,000, who during the course of the year are in a state of pauperism; or nearly one in five of the entire population of the country. That this deplorable state of things should exist in a small country like ours—

* The Oxford Anti-Mendicity Society has in some years relieved as many as 11,000 destitute tramps; in 1872 rather more than 4,000. The annual report for 1875 of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, states that the total number of inmates for that year was 38,400, of whom 3,540 were boys on board of thirteen training ships at various points of the coast. The Marine Society's Training Ships have trained and sent to sea, since the foundation of this charitable corporation, no less than 57,943 boys, of whom the greater number, at the time of their admittance, were of the utterly destitute class.

receiving one-third of the entire commerce of the world—is a most humiliating fact. We boast of our Christianity, we pride ourselves on our civilization, we are perpetually complimenting ourselves upon the industry of our population; and yet, with all this, and with the wealth of the world pouring in upon us, we have a pauperism and demoralization that make us a bye-word among the nations of the earth.*

The shocking contrast of the condition of the inhabitants of London adduced from the state of their dwellings, brings to light an amount of wretchedness perfectly appalling, and suggests the existence of numerous poor people, housed infinitely worse than those shut up in the workhouses. On this subject, the *Hour*, a valuable London newspaper, makes the following remarks:—

“ Rich London, ever growing richer, drives, rides, and walks down the spacious thoroughfares which have been constructed for its convenience, and has no thought for the teeming foetid alleys which lie within a few yards, on the right, or on the left, of the trim street. But if our readers will only take the trouble to turn a few paces from their ordinary route; if our legislators, in lieu of walking down Victoria Street to the House, will take the parallel route of Great Peter Street, and take the trouble of inspecting for themselves the wretched courts which lead out of this street; if our barristers will walk through the maze of courts separating the Strand from Lincoln’s Inn Fields; if our City men will look carefully behind the houses in Fetter Lane; if—but we might multiply our instances *ad infinitum*—if, in short, any one of us, in his daily walk through London, chooses to use his own eyes, he will see scores of houses, teeming with a vast population, with scarcely a single requisite for human habitation.”

In some of the great provincial towns, the condition of the greater part of their inhabitants must even be more wretched than that of the poor people of London.

According to Dr. Begg, there are in the city of Glasgow 30,000 dwellings, containing 100,000 persons, each such

* The author of “Studies of Man,” a Japanese, frankly tells us that our poor, for wretchedness, surpass all his experience has told him of human misery.

dwelling consisting of but one room, and in many cases windowless.

The density of population in Liverpool is double that of London : 30,000 families in it, or 150,000 people, reside in single rooms, of which 15,000 are cellars, often filthy, dark, and badly, if at all, drained.

To complete the picture of misery, it is only necessary to remember the wretchedness of the rural districts, and then we have a scene sad indeed to contemplate. The *Times* correspondent, writing from Ipswich on the 25th May, 1874, describes some of the cottages inhabited by the poor agricultural labourers. At Metfield he saw two cottages with one bedroom each, and nine sleepers in each. At Beddingfield a cottage with one bedroom, and still nine sleepers. At Worlingworth two cottages with one bedroom each, and eight sleepers to each room. At Maypole Green a cottage with one bedroom, for the accommodation of a man and his wife, two lads, four girls, and one child. At Brundish a cottage, tenanted by James Burgess, who for thirty-six years served as horse driver on one and the same farm. The bedroom of this cottage was twelve or thirteen feet square, with four beds on the floor that nearly touched each other, in which slept the labourer and his wife, a daughter aged twenty-four, a son aged twenty-one, another son nineteen, a boy fourteen, and a girl of seven! Dr. Hunter's report furnishes the following picture :—

"Under the thatch-covered roof of a single roomed cottage, in a loft ten feet square, three beds contained ten people; there were no curtains or divisions of any kind. One bed held the father, mother, and infant son; the centre bed was occupied by three daughters, of whom two were upwards of twenty years of age; and in the third bed lay the four sons, aged respectively seventeen, fifteen, fourteen, and ten."

There is another picture, drawn by the pen of a clergyman, who signed himself "S. G. O." in the *Times* newspaper :—"In a room thirteen feet square, there were three beds. On the first bed lay the mother, a widow, dying of consumption; on the second, two unmarried daughters, eighteen and twelve years of age; on the third, a young married couple, whom I myself had married two days before."

Concerning the origin of so much wretchedness amongst

the agricultural population, and amongst the people in general, Professor F. W. Newman said, at a meeting of farm labourers held at Wellington, Somersetshire, Oct. 20th, 1874 :— “ Pauperism has prevailed in England since the reign of Henry VIII., when landlords succeeded in turning themselves into land-owners. Some people think the Poor Law a natural state of things, and one made out of compassion for the labourer. It is no such thing. It was originally made as a police provision. So many people were turned adrift from the land at this period that Parliament tried to protect the community from those who, in the language of the time, were called ‘sturdy beggars.’ Then began the agrarian movements which are familiar to students of history. The villeins rose up against the great lords in various parts of England, and after many struggles were conquered, and hung up by the score—sometimes by the hundred—to terrify the peasants for the future. It was by conquest in this way that the landlords became landowners, and were able to secure increasing rentals by competition for their farms. From this cause is to be traced the pauperism which now disgraces us.”

Mr. William Gibson Ward, an able writer on the land question, says :—“ Pauperism is one of the greatest stains in the history of England. It is the crime of landed aristocrats. A selfish land tenure, in contempt of justice and violation of natural rights, is at the roots of pauperism. Pauperism is not from God. It is created by human selfishness, and perpetuated by gross monopoly. The exclusion of men, willing to work, from the soil, from their share of nature’s bounty, has involved the overcrowding of our towns, the death-like struggle of our artizans and labourers with grasping capitalists, and the pauperism of our labouring husbandmen, and the wholesale emigration of our most useful toilers.”

In order to substantiate this view of the origin of so much pauperism in England, Mr. William Gibson Ward quotes the following from the pen of Mr. Sidney Smith :—

“ The parish of Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, was entirely occupied by two large farmers. Fertile, populous, within forty miles of the metropolis, its cultivators, notwithstanding, fell behind. There were 139 inhabitants in the parish, but only two had an inch of the soil. Was not this civilization

run mad? Was it not a glaring and staring evidence of the monstrous abuse of the principle of private property, that only one man out of sixty-nine tillers of the ground should have exclusive occupation of the earth, which God made common to all, and the appropriation of which can only be palliated upon the clearest proof of public advantage? What was the consequence of this *beau ideal* of politico-economical arrangement? Simply this: out of 139 inhabitants, 119 were paupers. The land monopolists became bankrupt, the parson got no tithes, the landlords' acres were in rapid course of being eaten up with rates, and the whole property of the parish, being unable to feed the inhabitants, a rate in aid had to be levied on the neighbouring parishes, which were rapidly degenerating into the same state. The Labourers' Friend Society came to the rescue. They leased the land at a fair rent. They parcelled it out among the very worst class of persons upon whose habits to hazard the result of such an experiment. Some got five, some ten acres, according to the size of their families; and what was the effect? At the end of four years the number of paupers had diminished from 119 to five, and these were persons disabled from old age or disease; these paupers afforded to pay a rate in aid of the neighbouring parishes; and it was found that every one of them was in a state of independence and comfort; each had a cow, many two or three, to which some added a horse, others some oxen ready for the market, and all had pigs, and poultry in abundance."

Mr. Ward further quotes the following from a letter by the Rev. H. P. Jestic, rector of the said parish:—"For the previous ten years the poor-rates were 30s. in the pound, and that amount brought the parish to wreck. The gates were removed from the fields, the hedges allowed to be broken down, and the land thrown out of cultivation, that it should not be rated. Previously the land was let at 13s. an acre, the landlord guaranteeing a maximum amount of rates. Then it happened that when the tenant went to the rent audit, he had to carry a lot of money away, instead of leaving any. Of course an end of such a state of things soon came. The landlord was without rent, and the parson without tithe, and the farmers bankrupt and gone; then, when the monopoly system had brought all to

a chaos, the remedy came. The paupers had to rescue the land from barrenness, the landlord and parson from ruin, and redeem themselves. And nobly they did it all. The land was divided up amongst them; not at 13s. an acre though—the price the farmers paid—but at 26s., just double! However, even at once the rates went down from thirty shillings to three shillings! The parson got his tithes and the landlord his rent, and the public food, the produce of the land. For ten years after not a single pauper raised to independence committed any offence to bring him before a magistrate. They became at once from paupers, decent people, tax payers, law-abiding men. And," the clergyman wrote, "there is not a ragged, ill-dressed person in the parish."

Were all the sufferings and misery that afflict the great number of poor laid open to our view,* like the ragged garments they wear, and the wretched dwellings they inhabit; were we actual spectators of their agonies, when they fall victims to death by starvation (of which the metropolitan district of London counted in 1874 no fewer than 107 † cases),

* "A full knowledge of the misery existing around us would make life in a modern city unendurable."—*Daily News*, Jan. 1st., 1875.

† The *Times* newspaper, in publishing on the 26th August, 1874, a commentary article on this statistical subject, writes:—"It is difficult to conceive a statement of a more shocking character, or one which would afford a better basis for harangues upon the cruelty of civilization, or upon the vastness of the gulf which separates the rich from the poor."

The following is one of the cases of death by starvation, so common in the great and wealthy city of London :—At the inquest hold by Mr. Humphreys, relative to the death of Ellen Amro, aged thirty-seven, Police-constable 22 H deposed that at midnight on Sunday, August 15th, 1875, he found the deceased lying upon the pavement in Wentworth-street, Whitechapel. She was helpless, but able to give her name and age. She said she had not a relative in the world, nor had she any home. She slept in passages and doorways. Her clothes were one mass of rags, and her bones appeared to be protruding through the skin. The smell was overpowering. Witness had been in the force fifteen years, but had never found anything like it, even in a decomposed body. He obtained a stretcher and conveyed her to the infirmary. Dr. Champneys, who made the post-mortem examination, stated that the body was fearfully emaciated, showing that the deceased had suffered long privations. The cause of death was want of food. The coroner said it was one of those sad cases that so frequently came under his notice in the East End. Deceased had no one to care for her, whether she lived or died.

our sympathy and charity would at once be raised to such a degree that we would immediately devise means for the speedy alleviation of the evil.

It cannot be denied that much charity is exercised in the relief of the poor, that an immense number of them are supported by poor-rates, in almshouses and hospitals; * but the social reformer looks on all these remedies as being inefficient to grapple with the great amount of open and hidden poverty, and he is bold enough to assert that if the great number of poor now confined in workhouses and other charitable institutions were let loose upon society, and if their number were further increased by the number of those who bear poverty in silence and resignation at their own homes, their conjoint presence would probably multiply by tenfold the poverty-stricken aspect of the populations of our large towns, and bring most effectually into disrepute the vaunted civilization of our times.

Modern society hides its plague-spots, but the social reformer traces them to their hiding-places, and uncovers them in their hideousness. He lays open the social imperfections, and points out the vicissitudes that escape the observation of indifferent or prejudiced lookers-on. He sees in the haggard faces, in the emaciated frames, in the shrunk stature of the greater part of the lower classes of society, and especially of the population of large cities, a degenerate state of the human race, greatly resulting from the evils of poverty; and he becomes the more impatient for a radical change, as by the extinction of pauperism a sudden regeneration of the race would be effected. The hollow cheek, the pallid complexion, the flabby muscle, would soon disappear, and the aspect and look of the common people would again present a striking picture of health and strength.

* Mr. Fairlie Clark writes in *Macmillan's Magazine* :—“The number of free hospitals and dispensaries in the metropolis is just over 100, and the applicants who annually apply to them for relief cannot be estimated at less than 800,000; in all probability they are nearer 1,000,000. But these figures do not represent the total number of the sick poor. When the country is prosperous, it is surely very serious, if not alarming, to find so large a proportion of the lower class making no provision for themselves in anticipation of the time of sickness.”

CHAPTER II.—PROSTITUTION.

IF poverty is for the most part a hidden sore of modern society, prostitution is decidedly its open cancer. Impudent prostitutes parade the streets of modern cities in thousands.* They would, however, scarcely be recognized as such, were it not for their importunate solicitations; for in matter of dress they equal the best-dressed ladies of the middle and upper classes of society, and conform to the latest fashions. The ruin effected by prostitution is lamentable. The healthiest constitutions are in numberless cases undermined by the venereal disease propagated through prostitution; frequent and easy opportunities are by this vice offered to theft, robbery, and even murder in the haunts into which it allures its victims. But most appalling of all the evil consequences of prostitution is the moral degradation of the young and mostly beautiful persons who, for the sake of gain, and in order to avoid the hardships of honest labour, resort to this infamous trade, which, in a very short time, destroys their beauty, undermines their health by a loathsome disease, annihilates their power of conception, and in many cases only serves to enrich the keepers of brothels, or swell the profits of other traders† in human flesh, who entice innocent young women, and even girls under age, into the infamous dens of vice and crime, reared and supported by prostitution.

This great social evil is by some considered a vice that takes its origin in the general depravity of the human race; others describe it as a ready and easy means for the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, in case other legitimate means should not be procurable, especially on the part of men; and in this latter instance it has even in this country been regarded as a legitimate trade, or an evil that must be tolerated, for fear

* The late Bishop of Oxford estimated the number of prostitutes in London at 80,000; the magistrate Colquhoun at 50,000. These figures lead to the following curious inference. If each of only 20,000 prostitutes obtains but one customer per week, 1,000,000 cases of prostitution must take place in the course of the year.

† “St. John describes the spiritual Babylon as the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, and represents her ruin as lamentable, especially to the *merchants*, who traffic with her in many beautiful and desirable articles, but above all in ‘souls of men.’”—JOHN RUSKIN.

sents, in consideration of the great pain the woman had to endure, and the danger she had to pass. How terrible is, on the other hand, the spectacle disclosed to our view by the fact that there is registered in England the annual number of 42,000 births of illegitimate children; and one shudders in thinking of the feelings of anguish the poor unmarried women undergo during the time of pregnancy, the attempts of concealment they make, and the means many of them prepare for the destruction of their offspring and their own lives,—which at last, too often, culminate in tragedies of the most terrible kind, like the following infanticide and suicide, committed in the year 1856, at No. 5, Belinda Cottages, Canonbury Square, Islington, by Mary Ann Gerard, twenty-one years of age, who had for some short time been in the service of Mr. J. E. and Mrs. Williams, at the above-mentioned address, where not the slightest suspicion was excited that she was *enceinte*. One evening, according to her usual custom, she went upstairs to dress, but being a much longer time than was considered necessary, she was called by one of the family, who received her answer that she would be down presently. Not making her appearance another messenger was sent up, and found the door fastened. The family became alarmed, and had the door forced open, when a frightful spectacle met the view. A newly-born infant, of which she had recently been delivered, was found with its head nearly severed from the body, while the unfortunate mother lay extended in a pool of blood, and lifeless.

The following case of child exposure is both strange and painful; resulting in the death of the child, and putting the life of the mother into great peril. On the 1st October, 1873, a farmer's daughter, twenty-three years of age, was put under police surveillance at Truro. She lived with her family near Chakewater, and, unknown to her relatives, was on the eve of confinement when she left the house. Her state being suspected, protracted search for her was made, but without avail. Meanwhile, the girl went to the neighbouring plantation, and there gave birth to an infant, remaining in the wood all that day and next night alone, without food or drink; when she walked six miles to the house of an old nurse of her family, at Truro. There she was found; and on being interro-

gated, admitted the facts, adding that the infant was still-born, and would be found in the plantation, covered with leaves. The body was found, but, unhappily, at the coroner's inquest, the medical man declared, unhesitatingly, that it had lived independently, and had died from neglect and exposure. The night the girl was in the woods was cold and stormy, and that she survived was indeed marvellous.

The frequency of child murder in London is a well known fact. At an inquest held at the Coroner's Court, St. Pancras, on the body of an unknown female child, which was pronounced to have been wilfully murdered, the coroner said that there were three such cases every week throughout the year (or 156 annually). A juryman said the English were getting as bad as the Chinese, who murdered their children and threw the bodies into the roads.

Not less, and in many cases even more, intense is the feeling of shame the parents of the unhappy woman undergo when she is delivered of an illegitimate child. All these evils, all these feelings and apprehensions of approbrium and shame, the social reformer sees suddenly changed into joy and honour by a true and humanitarian organization of society. He also anticipates the time when, by a better regulation of sexual intercourse, a stop will be put to what is called unnatural offences.*

In leaving the subjects of prostitution, celibacy, abortion, concealment of childbirth, and infanticide, the author would remark, moreover, that, owing to a conventional shyness of most people to speak about sexual relations and functions, these important matters have been left without any serious investigation on the part of physiologists, lawyers, legislators, and even social reformers.

* During the three years 1859-60-61, no fewer than forty-one persons were, in England, sentenced to death for sodomy; but capital punishment being in every case commuted into penal servitude of long duration, none of these criminals were executed.

CHAPTER IV.—MATRIMONY.

"The law of servitude in marriage is a monstrous contradiction to all the principles of the modern world and to all the experience through which those principles have been slowly and painfully worked out. Marriage is the only actual bondage known to our law. There remain no legal slaves, except the inmates of every house."—JOHN STUART MILL.

IT will readily be admitted that the present state of restrictive union of the sexes under the matrimonial law is productive, not only of the most outrageous acts of ill-treatment husbandis and wives inflict upon each other, but also that it is the frequent cause of murders and suicides, and that not rarely the innocent children of these unhappy matrimonial alliances are cruelly implicated in the destruction of a condition of life in which fury, rage, and despair, arising from an unnatural and forced union of the sexes, break their bonds by murder and suicide. Thus it comes that criminal statistics reveal the sad fact, that of all kinds of capital crimes wife murders are the most numerous. In the year ending the 29th September, 1872, out of the total number of fourteen capital sentences carried into execution, ten were for the murder by men of their wives and of women with whom they had cohabited. Of the whole number of twenty murders of which the perpetrators, being persons of the male sex, were convicted, twelve were crimes of the kind described. In nine of the cases the victims were married women. In only three of the cases does infidelity, or the suspicion of it, appear to have come into play. One of the murderers had fourteen children by the wife whom he destroyed on quarrelling with her about his dinner; and most of the offenders had passed the period of life in which strong passions are ordinarily looked for, their ages being respectively, 25, 42, 58, 60, 28, 43, 34, 50, 38, 31, 67, 39.

True it is that divorce may be obtained and that voluntary separation may take place; but, in the first case, cruelty must have been practised to a dangerous degree, and, in the second instance, the sad prospects of leaving children behind, of the difficulty or even impossibility of finding another home,* and

* On January 20th, 1875, Winifred Green, a middle-aged woman, was charged at Lambeth police-court with attempting to commit suicide by jumping into the Grand Surrey Canal. Police-constable 81 stated that a muff belonging to her was found near the canal, and tied to it was a

of obtaining a livelihood, are generally so great that in many cases voluntary separation is very difficult to be resorted to, especially by the lower classes of society. It is, however, well known that nevertheless numerous voluntary separations take place.* Taking these into account, and adding to them another numerous class, who do not separate, but live together a so-called dog-and-cat life, frequently breaking out in quarrels, fights, wife-beating, murderous assaults, and smashing of furniture, and in furthermore augmenting this fearful amount of unhappiness and misery by the great multitude of those who live in a state of indifference to each other, and also counting those who bear the conjugal yoke with resignation, meekly submitting to the fate of being unnoticed, uncherished, and unloved,—considering all these anomalies of married life, the social reformer comes to the conclusion, that the present union of the sexes in matrimony is, in a great many instances, a most unnatural alliance; and he is confident that if an investigation were made, and married people could be induced to tell the real truth of the happiness, or unhappiness, the conjugal tie confers upon them, the whole institution of matrimony would be found to have, hidden in its secrecy and seclusion, an amount of evil of the most oppressive, inhuman, and tyrannical kind, and that it might be, without the least exaggeration, designated the occult cancer of society.† It is, however, some

black-bordered envelope with the following words written upon it:—“Divorced wife of George William Green, ‘Princess of Wales,’ South-street, Walworth. No home.”

* “So many husbands have run away from their wives in the parish of St. Giles, Camberwell, that the Guardians have felt called upon to offer a reward for the apprehension of the absentees, or for such information as might lead to their capture. The practice was for some time growing into a formidable evil, but it seems to have culminated in a stampede, twenty deserters being now outlawed on this account.”—*Daily News*, Nov. 4, 1874.

In 1875 the School-Board of London issued the following return of cases of wife desertion for the year:—City, 7; Chelsea, 39; Finsbury, 48; Greenwich, 100; Hackney, 39; Lambeth, 57; Marylebone, 52; Southwark, 48; Westminster, 32. Total, 422.

† “The sufferings, immoralities, evils of all sorts, produced in innumerable cases by the subjection of individual women to individual men, are far too terrible to be overlooked. . . . The family is a school of despotism, in which the virtues of despotism, but also its vices, are largely nourished.”—JOHN STUART MILL.

consolation, that not a few escape this trap of misery by happy unions, concluded under naturally favourable circumstances: when characters agree, when sexual desires are not carried to excess, and wealth administers to the other comforts of life. It is also satisfactory to know that many avoid the miseries of married life by living in voluntary sexual unions without enjoying the sanction of matrimonial laws or religious rites; and unions of this kind have frequently proved more lasting and more peaceful than those contracted in legal marriage, for the simple reason that voluntary unions preserve to both parties the freedom of separating from each other,—a circumstance greatly conformable to the sacred principle of liberty which all men and women should equally enjoy. Knowing that each party possesses this liberty (which, however, in the present state of society is encumbered with many trammels), they will be mutually more forbearing; and should one of the conjugal partners be excessively enamoured in the other, without enjoying an equally intense reciprocating attention, that partner will employ all the arts and means love can devise, to retain the object of happiness; a proceeding which in indissoluble marriage union would probably be neglected, as the object of love is constrained to abide with the partner.

The present unhappy state of matrimonial alliances has occupied the thoughts of many deep-thinking men; and nothing is in this respect more correct than the saying of a celebrated French ecclesiastic, that our sexual unions are either love without marriage, or marriage without love.

CHAPTER V.—THE PRIVATE HOME.

CLOSELY connected with the matrimonial state is the private home, or isolated abode of man and wife with or without children. In the case of man and wife occupying the private home without children, their separation from society very often degenerates into a state of seclusion, which, lacking the cheerful company of young children, and sharing the common fate of growing indifference between the sexes in married life, finally ends in a state of mutual aversion and

bitter moroseness. Having at last reached that ultimate state of unhappiness, the matrimonial partners cease to be bed-fellows, occupy separate bedrooms, and shun each other's company. When life in the domestic home has finally arrived at separation from cohabitation within the small circle of a secluded dwelling, it becomes pregnant with scenes of violence, insanity, murder, and suicide.

The private home which is filled with a numerous progeny is not seldom fraught with all the elements of discord leading to tyranny exercised by parents over their children, or even by grown-up sons and daughters* over their parents ; to disagreement, hatred, and murder in the bosom of the family ;† to unnatural sexual intercourse, incited by the close proximity of the children of both sexes, who very often promiscuously occupy the same rooms and beds. That this danger of the isolated home is by no means exaggerated is proved from the following painful facts, which the *Echo* newspaper introduced to the public with these words :—“ There are some stories too horrible for comment, yet which it is the imperative duty of the press to publish, lest wealthy Englishmen should, in the pleasant platitudes which surround them, forget that such offences defile the land. Thomas Young, in the employ, as a labourer, of Mr. James Coles, of Holwell, Wimborne, was summoned for committing a nuisance by sleeping in a room unfit for human habitation, on a filthy bed of rags and chaff, together with a grown-up son and daughter. A Mr. Bell, relieving-officer, deposed that the girl, about eighteen years of age, had three

* “ SHOCKING OUTRAGE BY A GIRL ON HER FATHER.—At Halifax, on Monday, September 23rd, 1873, Annie Costello, aged twenty, a mill hand, made a savage attack upon her father, Andrew Costello, eighty-six years of age, with a rolling-pin, striking him on the head. The following day she knocked him down, and, catching him by the tongue, pulled it so violently that it was torn out at the root on one side. The old man was taken to the workhouse, where lockjaw supervened, and he died the next day. The cause of the assault was a quarrel about domestic affairs.”

† On the 11th September, 1874, Mr. George R. Jesse, of Holly Bank, Hanbury, Macclesfield, addressed this question to the English people : “ Are we civilized ? A certain ancient people (the Athenians) had no punishment for parricide, as even the possibility was not contemplated (by Solon). How many murders of parents, sisters, and children, etc., happen here ? ”

children of *incestuous* birth, and described the scene. He said : 'The stench was so bad that when I got out of the house I was sick. The bed smelt dreadfully. There was only one blanket, and that was in a dreadful state.'

Another extraordinary case of destitution and depravity has, according to the *Wells Journal* of March 25th, 1875, recently come to light at a place called Shurton, near Stogursey, a parish a few miles distant from Bridgewater. John Coles, or "Jerry Jack"—a name by which he was commonly called—who is the chief subject of these remarks, was an aged labourer, and for some years past had lived in a cottage in the village mentioned above. His wife had died long since, and cohabiting with him was his daughter, who, as the result, has borne him three children. As the family were destitute of suitable sleeping accommodation, they had been accustomed to lie down all together on a heap of straw, with no article of bed-clothes to cover them, except some old matting which had been washed ashore by the sea. The children have frequently been seen running about quite naked; sometimes they have worn old bags which had been sewn up for the purpose. Not long since an order was made for evicting the wretched family from their miserable abode. Probably this preyed on the old man's mind, and before the law could take its course he died. That his death was unexpected seems likely from the fact that his daughter, who had left him alive on the 1st inst., found him dead on her return. On the Wednesday after, the body was removed to Stogursey, when it was found that both ears of the corpse had been eaten off by rats. A jury was summoned, and an inquest held, but the daughter, who was the principal witness, being pregnant, was unable to attend, and it was therefore adjourned to Friday last, when a verdict was returned, according to the medical evidence, that the deceased died from natural causes. During the last week the daughter was confined, making the fourth illegitimate child. Soon after the old man's death the woman and her children were taken to the Williton Union Workhouse, where they were found to be suffering from a skin disease, and their clothes were full of vermin.'

The social reformer condemns the private home, not only for giving opportunities to serious crimes and disgusting vices, but

chiefly for being a means of withdrawing men, women, and children from their natural sphere of social intercourse. The private home and free social intercourse are natural enemies to each other. One tends to exclude the other. The peculiar home which harbours the children of modern civilization is an isolated nursery of individual peculiarities, ideas, and prejudices, religious and irreligious proclivities, which the heads of families impress upon their children with parental authority, and by which their character is very often moulded in a manner that disqualifies them to enter society with that ease and confidence acquired in a perpetual intercourse with all the members of the community. The peculiarities and propensities of character so formed are, moreover, the principal cause of unhappy marriages.

The wrong inflicted upon children of all ages by being confined in the private home for the greater part of their life, is of a most serious and tyrannical nature, for it deprives them of that infinite and rapturous joy which they invariably experience in the company of other children, and in the participation of their enjoyments. The confinement of children in the select homes, especially of rich families, and in many of the poorer classes of society, is excused on the ground that they must be prevented from becoming contaminated with the bad manners and bad behaviour of other children. The plea of possible contamination is puerile, for selection of good and well-behaved companions and play-fellows amongst the children of all classes of society, offers itself on all sides, but is not patronised, by reason of the difficulties by which the spirit of exclusiveness and seclusiveness of the private home bars the way to more extended intercourse between the children of various families. Juvenile circles including both children of the rich and the poor united in one common bond of fellowship, are altogether an utter impossibility in England, but have some germ of existence on the Continent, where the national schools are visited by the children of both rich and poor, and where they sit side by side on the same benches, and intermingle freely and cordially during play hours, and participate joyfully in all juvenile games and recreations.

The influence of confinement in the separate home, and the want of social intercourse, is strikingly observable in the look

and deportment of the children of the rich. Not a smile, not a laugh, escapes their rosy lips, and their beautiful features remain placid and immovable, like dolls' faces or lifeless images; slovenly they walk along, led by the grasping hand of a parent or tutor for fear they might be attracted into the circle of playing children formed from the ranks of the poor. Having been confined in the nurseries and petty schoolrooms of the parental home, they have not learned to participate to the fullest extent in the frolic gambols, to join in the merry juvenile ditties and rhymes, to whirl around in the ring formed by many joyous children, to dress in grotesque mummery ; and being deprived of these and similar enjoyments, they betray their reticence, they show looks of amazement and often of envy when they see other children indulging in rapturous joy derived from various juvenile sports and games which the free and unconstrained association amongst children is sure to invent and carry out with one common consent and enjoyment.

Who amongst all those who have attained a mature age does not recollect the great pleasures of companionship, when a child, amongst children, schoolfellows, and playmates, and, when a youth, amongst those of the same age ?

All these natural enjoyments are to a great extent subdued and interfered with by the peculiar home ; but social reformers can with certainty anticipate an organization of the community, in which each child will have many playmates, each youth many companions, and each grown-up man and woman many associates and friends. The present system of home exclusiveness—which in large towns is even so great that it has given rise to the comical saying, “ Number 3 does not know what Number 4 is about ”—will be relaxed ; children will be liberated from the tyrannical and arbitrary treatment and shameful neglect they often experience on the part of their parents, brothers, sisters, governesses, tutors, servants and relatives ; and husbands and wives who now live in unhappiness under the shelter of secluded domesticity, will find inducements held out to them, by which they will be drawn from their unhappy retreats into the joyous circle of public company, and will thus become restored to public enjoyment which will prevent private vice.

CHAPTER VI.—MONEY.

“A curse on him who found the ore !
A curse on him who digg'd the store !
A curse on him who did refine it !
A curse on him who first did coin it !”

COWLY.

THE WALWORTH MURDERS OF THE 31ST JULY, 1860.—To obtain possession of £100 from an insurance office, William Youngman did not hesitate to involve in one fearful massacre four persons : one parent, two brothers, and a young female.

ALTHOUGH it is universally acknowledged that money is the root of all evil, still, no attempts have been made for removing this universal cause of wrong, and extirpating this poisonous root. On the contrary, the general public, and even the enlightened political economist, consider the use of money as necessary an element for man's existence as the air they breathe, the food they eat, and the water they drink. But such are not the notions of the advanced social reformer, for he can clearly conceive a social state in which there shall not exist any money, or monetary standard; and seeing this possibility, he has a more lucid perception of the evils arising from its existence.

The total absence of money would, in the first instance, root out the infamous vice of prostitution ; it would almost entirely extinguish theft, fraud, and embezzlement ; and it would be a sure means of greatly diminishing the number of those murders that are committed for the sake of robbery and plunder ; for of all the objects coveted by the robber and murderer, money is always first searched for, because it is easiest to hide and to dispose of, and thus furnishes the thief, robber, and murderer an easy means of escape and concealment.

The possession of money is, moreover, a fertile source of dissipation, drunkenness, and gluttony ; and in cases of inheritance, where great riches are transmitted in the shape of money, it is generally found, that a spendthrift son often squanders in the most reckless and vicious manner the coin so laboriously collected by his father ; a course of proceeding which the law

of primogeniture checks in those heirs who inherit landed property, by assigning to them solely a life-interest in the estate. But as personal estate, and money inherited, cannot, by the very nature of its insecurity and transmutability, be made an object of interminable transmission from heir to heir under the protection of the law of primogeniture, the disintegration of large fortunes by prodigal and debauched heirs runs its rapid and fatal course, ruining not only the principal actor of debauchery and dissipation, but often his whole family relatives, and many others whom he draws into his mad and vicious career.

Besides these direct evils engendered by the existence of money, the social reformer is anxious to call attention to others of a more indirect and subtle nature, the effect of which he considers to be still more detrimental to the welfare of certain classes of the community than those arising from the direct influence of money.

By the possession of money, large numbers of people are enabled to withdraw themselves from the active pursuits of life, to elude the sting and bane of labour and its hardships; and, in doing so, they cast the burdens of both mental and bodily work upon others who had not the good fortune of being born rich, of inheriting large sums of money, or of rapidly becoming rich through successful speculations, and retiring prematurely, and in the full vigour of life, from the field of activity and useful occupation into the retreats of inutility and idleness. Money thus spent by those who do not work, but live upon their incomes from landed estates, or from the interest of capital * invested, becomes often a means

* The right of money to increase by interest, is in itself disputed by many authorities. Aristotle declares that "money is properly only a medium of exchange for labour, and that it has no right or claim to increase except by passing directly through some form of labour." It is thrice condemned by the law of Moses, and absolutely forbidden by that legislator between Jew and Jew. It is denounced by Mohammed in the third and thirtieth chapters of the Koran. The ancient Roman Republic forbade it in the 411th year of the city of Rome. When, in the reign of Elizabeth and Henry VIII., edicts were issued legalizing a ten per cent. usury, the Protestant bishops who sat in the House of Peers branded them as "mortal sins."

Martin Luther condemns usury in these words :—" By a simple

of disguising a state of serfdom to which certain classes of the population are now subjected, without entertaining the least suspicion that, through the subtle and indirect action of money, they have been made pitiable slaves. These will, on the contrary, think it quite right that the rich should make others work, provided they pay them for it.

The author is, however, of an entirely different opinion, and maintains that the comparative exemption of the rich from labour is putting a heavy and humiliating yoke of slavery on the neck of the working man, and that the so-called free labour of the latter is, in reality, only a disguised form of serfdom, from which he can only extricate himself, with the most strenuous exertions, by work and abstinence.

In subjecting the present relation between labour and capital to a still closer scrutiny, the social reformer finds that rents received for land produce serfdom in disguise, and that the landowner who takes the rent of £2 an acre, has taken the equivalent of £2 worth of the results of labour, to the production of which he has not contributed one single day's work. These two pounds of rent represent a certain number of working days, which in a free country he could not exact from the agricultural labourer, nor from the farmer, were it not under the disguise of money; for were he to resort to the exaction of labour without money payment, everybody would cry out that it is serfdom in the real meaning of the word.

The same view may be taken in all cases in which profits in money are realized on the results of labour performed for capitalists by other persons.

process of reasoning, the pagans of antiquity have calculated that a usurer is a fourfold thief and murderer. But we Christians hold him in such honour, that we almost worship him for the sake of his money. He who reduces another's livelihood by usury, and robs him of the means of subsistence by exorbitant interest, commits as great a murder as he who kills his fellow man by starvation, or otherwise causes him deadly injury. But so the usurer does, and sits comfortably in his chair whilst he should swing on the gallows. Besides the devil, there is no greater enemy of mankind upon earth than a usurer. And if highwaymen and murderers are put to death upon the wheel and by the sword, how much more shall not all usurers be cursed, hunted down, and decapitated."

CHAPTER VII.—INHERITANCE.

THE principle of inheritance is, in the opinion of the author, a sign of the bad organization of society; for if all were properly cared for, if sufficient means for the satisfaction of all wants were provided for all, there would be no necessity for inheriting property or money. But as society is at present constituted, the fatality of being born poor is avoided by the transmission of wealth by inheritance; and means thus acquired will in most cases not only prove abundant for the education of the young heir, but will probably be a powerful assistance to him all his life through, from the cradle to the grave. The poor man, on the contrary, is placed at a dire disadvantage the very day of his birth, and is afterwards very often engaged in a painful struggle for existence all his lifetime, though with no other result than of transmitting his poverty as an inheritance to his children. And should he even succeed in amassing a fortune, the knowledge that he has done so by hard labour, by painful thriftiness, by great risk, and by torturing apprehensions of loss, will be small consolation and bitter irony, if he considers that the wealthy man, who obtained his riches by inheritance, did not experience any of those troubles, or feel any anxiety, or apprehension of risk and loss and ruin; for if rich in land, his wealth would be secured to him and his heirs by the law of entail and primogeniture; and if rich in money, he would invest it in land, and have it protected by the same feudal law of primogeniture and entail.

CHAPTER VIII.—PRIVATE PROPERTY.

“It is owing to the deplorable condition of the working classes, that property has been put into question, whose legitimate title has been critically examined, and for whose equitable distribution there will arise frightful contentions and bloody battles, if reason, politics, and social charity should not be able to solve the problem in a peaceful and satisfactory manner.”—**LAMARTINE.**

A MAN may possess private property in land, houses, factories, warehouses, ships, mines, funds, shares, wares and goods, machines, patents, copy-rights, etc. All these vari-

ous modes of possessing private property are objectionable if subjected to a severe investigation with regard to the behests of justice. Property in land must necessarily be limited to a certain number of proprietors, for its subdivision cannot be carried out beyond a degree which is the last limit to which agricultural holdings may be reduced without injuring a good mode of husbandry. These limits will always exclude a great number of people from becoming landholders; and the question arises, How will those so excluded find occupations that will offer to them equivalent advantages in respect of freedom, independence, health, and amount of labour required?

The possession of land, not only in large estates, but also in small holdings, gives to the possessor a monopoly that enables him to collect the fruits of the earth with comparative ease and little risk of danger and accidents, to perform his labour under the most healthy conditions, and often, if he is a peasant proprietor, without any arbitrary supervision or interference from the part of landlords, bailiffs, managers, masters, or foremen. It is in this respect that the small peasant proprietors of France, Belgium, and Germany are regarded with great envy by the working classes of other industrial occupations; for, comparing their own condition of life with that of the small landholder, they find that their labour is more monotonous, not offering that variety which the toiler of the field meets with in the change of the seasons and diversity of the crops he cultivates and the animals he rears. The mechanic or factory operative also finds that his work is more or less injurious to health, and that, consequently, he is not so long-lived as the husbandman.

All the ingenuity of the author will be tasked in solving the question of the inequality in the distribution of labour, to which the private possession of land and its cultivation give rise. He has nothing to do with the breaking up of large landed estates, for these have been condemned by the ablest and most sagacious writers of political economy. He adopts without hesitation the radical idea of nationalizing the land; but having brought it into the possession of the nation, he has still the far greater difficulty to meet by solving the problem of equalizing agricultural and industrial labour so that the one shall not enjoy more advantages than the other.

Of all the various kinds of private property, none is more objectionable than the possession of houses and the exaction of rents from the tenants. The injustice perpetrated by this species of private property becomes the more revolting when rent is received for houses that have been built centuries ago. In comparison with landed property, house property is the more objectionable of the two; for the monopoly in land requires at least a considerable outlay of money in the shape of wages to agricultural labourers, and where the proprietor cultivates his own ground, for the purchase of agricultural implements, for keeping his team of horses or yoke of oxen in proper working order, and for repairing the premises and appurtenances of his farm homestead; whilst houses built long ago have had their original outlay for the building of the same repaid over and over again, and if substantially built, which is the case with almost all the older structures in English towns and villages, they require very little outlay for repairs. These advantages which house property enjoys in comparison to landed property, render its monopoly a more glaring infraction of justice.

Private property in mechanical appliances and machinery is likewise condemned by social reformers, because it enables the owner of them to realize great profits that ought to be shared with those who superintend and work his machines, set them in motion, clean them, and regulate their movements, and who under the name of operatives generally perform every kind of factory work. The fortunes realized from this kind of property are immense, but the condition of the factory workers has not materially improved since the time when these labour-saving machines and industrial appliances were invented and first introduced.

During the last quarter of a century the trade of the country has probably more than quadrupled. The exports during that period, consisting chiefly of the manufactured goods of this country, have advanced from £50,000,000 to £250,000,000, while the increase in our imports has been still greater. Yet, Mr. Fawcett has proved that while there has been this unprecedented accumulation of wealth, the remuneration of labour has in many instances scarcely advanced at all. It is fully established by Mr. Brassey's figures, obtained from

the books, not only of his own firm, but of other employers, that there must be many trades in which the workmen are worse off than they were at the period referred to. In the Canada Engineering Works at Birkenhead, where thirteen classes of workmen, such as fitters, turners, coppersmiths, etc., are employed, the men of six of those classes were receiving less wages in 1869 than in 1854; those of three classes were receiving the same wages; while those of four classes were receiving somewhat higher wages. In the Government dockyard at Sheerness, thirteen classes of workmen are employed. In three of these classes only was there any advance in wages between 1849 and 1859, and that advance was only sixpence a day. Between 1859 and 1869, there was no advance at all in any of the classes, but wages were absolutely stationary throughout the period.

Property in ships stands in the same position as house-property. They may have been built years past, and their original cost repaid long ago. As the service of this kind of property can only be made profitable by the superintendence of skilful ship-captains and able seamen, there is some reason for regarding its monopoly in a more lenient manner than that of house-property, provided that the lives of sailors were less exposed to loss by the shipwreck and foundering of unseaworthy vessels, which is always to be apprehended with those octagonarian hulks,* whose cost of construction has long ago been refunded, and whose number is yet legion † in the British mercantile marine.

Property in shares and funds, or derived from the interest

* During the year 1873-74, the following wrecks of old vessels are reported by the official wreck register :—302 wrecks to ships from 30 to 50 years old, 41 between 50 and 60 years old, 13 from 60 to 70, 6 from 70 to 80, 5 from 80 to 90, 2 from 90 to 100, and 2 upwards of 100.

† The secretary to Lloyds told a friend of mine that he had not known a single ship broken up fairly by the owners for thirty years. The ship passes from one hand to another, until at last it falls into the hands of some needy speculator, who sends her to sea charged with precious life. 2,654 ships have gone off their class and forfeited their position. What is the consequence of this sort of thing? Why, that continually hundreds of brave men are sent to death, and their wives are made widows, and their children are made orphans, so that a few speculative scoundrels, in whose hearts there is neither the love of God nor the fear of God, may

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2. The Shopkeeper.

The shopkeepers and shopmen stand to each other in much the same position as the wine and tea merchant to the seamen, dock-labourers, and warehousemen. In most instances the shopkeeper sits in a small office, or backroom of his shop, like the spider in the recess hole of its net, and in this observatory he is generally sheltered against cold, dust, and intrusion of insolent customers.

The shopmen and women have often a great deal of work to do, which, were it not for the continued standing position, would be mere child's play when compared with the labour of the carpenter, mason, or smith. In the daily occupation of the shopman there is no danger of getting drowned by shipwreck, suffocated by fire-damp, scalded by steam, mutilated by machinery, or weather-beaten by storm, rain, or wind. Nevertheless, the just complaints of this ill-paid body of men and women merit the serious attention both of the philanthropist and social reformer, whose duty it is to devise means for an equal distribution of labour amongst all the members of the community.

The proposed social reforms will certainly remove from the occupation of shopmen and all those who are engaged in the distribution of produce, the monotonous character of their work, and the little opportunity it offers for the display of ingenuity and skill. What can there be more wearisome than the continuous making up of little parcels of sugar, coffee, and tea, and the monotonous repetition of the same tedious work from week to week and year to year? Most of the young men and women thus employed are endowed with a superior activity of mind, and possessed of great bodily strength. They yearn for a more vigorous activity both for the exercise of body and mind; but alas! civilization sacrifices them as victims to cupidity and holocausts to the stupidity of the system under which the present irrational and wasteful distribution of produce is carried on.

SECTION II.

WASTE OF LABOUR.

THE waste of labour which takes place in the present state of society may be principally ascribed to the following causes : luxury and idleness, isolated homes and workshops, faulty distribution of produce, and limited application of labour-saving machinery.

CHAPTER X.—LUXURY.

ALTHOUGH all moralists, from Solon* to Benjamin Franklin, have passed severe condemnation on luxury, modern civilized society looks upon it as one of its great achievements, and maintains that it is one of the great means of creating labour, of stimulating commerce and industry, and of introducing artistic taste into the manufacture of many commodities. It must be granted, on the whole, that articles of luxury cannot be produced without labour ; and it must also be admitted that most of them are the produce of hand-labour, such as articles of fashionable wearing apparel, fancy furniture, ornamented china-ware, etc. ; and in all these and similar cases luxury directly increases labour. But instances may, however, be stated, such as the conversion of a cultivated field into a park, or the formation of a deer-forest from extended tracts of arable

* When Croesus had displayed to Solon all the finery and costly material of a rich store of wearing apparel, he asked the latter if he had ever seen anything more magnificent, whereupon Solon answered : “ Yes, peacocks, pheasants, and cocks ; for the beauty of these animals is natural, yours only borrowed.”

2. The Shopkeeper.

The shopkeepers and shopmen stand to each other in much the same position as the wine and tea merchant to the seamen, dock-labourers, and warehousemen. In most instances the shopkeeper sits in a small office, or backroom of his shop, like the spider in the recess hole of its net, and in this observatory he is generally sheltered against cold, dust, and intrusion of insolent customers.

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work upon a rough piece of wood, worth some four or five pounds of our English money, and, after the fashion of my trade, convert it into a highly-finished cabinet, and then receive —well, let us say some fifteen or twenty pounds in the form of wages, when I have but to slip round the corner and look into my master's shopwindow to find it boldly ticketed up one hundred guineas. To my judgment, all such labour was at the best misdirected and a waste. I will not take upon myself to determine how far such labour may be positively injurious by fostering a vain and ostentatious display, resulting in some instances in a suicidal rivalry. What, however, I do feel justified in saying is, that I do not, on the whole, exactly see how the political economy of the empirics affects me, otherwise than as the producer of *unnecessary wares*. At the same time, I have a most distinct perception of the trade economy comprised in selling for a hundred guineas an article that cost twenty-five pounds at most."

The fact that luxury is neither promoted nor supported, but avoided by the working man, will at once condemn all labour spent in its production, not only as an idle waste, but as a needless and pernicious addition to the burden that oppresses him.

Articles of luxury may be classed into two kinds; the first including those that have been produced from a cheap and common material by the elaborate workmanship bestowed upon it; the second comprising those objects where little or no additional labour was applied to a costly and rare material. A profusely carved wooden chair and a diamond jewel would be fit representatives of the two classes of articles of luxury. Of those, the first of the two is objectionable, because of the waste of labour thrown away in useless ornamentation; and the second is more so, because it can, by reason of its rarity and costliness, only become the object of enjoyment to a wealthy person.

The plea that all luxury is likewise accessible and procurable to the working man receives a contradiction by the fact that some jewels, especially those of diamonds and pearls, are of an enormously high price, frequently amounting to many thousand pounds for only one tiny object, so that it is utterly impossible that they can ever be purchased by a working man;

for the accumulated labour of his whole lifetime, were it calculated at £1 per week, would in sixty years but amount to £3,000, which would scarcely be an equivalent sum to the value of many a costly jewel.

Concerning the first kind of luxury entailing superfluous labour upon cheap material, the author is inclined to think that in a better organised state of society the labour thus wasted will be reduced to a minimum by the simple expedient that all those who like to use such articles of luxury will themselves be obliged to produce them; and as to the enjoyment of the second kind, including the use of all articles of rarity, the wearing of costly jewels, of precious stones, the consumption of choice fruit, etc., it can be made accessible to all by an alternate use amongst all the members of the community.

The author is also confident that in a well-organized state of society, in which all the members of the community perform labour by equal allotment, no one would be willing to do any work the result of which should become a means to administer to the satisfaction of the bad and vicious habits of others, such as drunkenness, gluttony, tobacco-smoking, and opium eating; moreover, if drinkers and smokers, for instance, were obliged to produce the objects of their vicious consumption by their own manual labour; if the beer drinker had to till the barley field, to make the malt, to brew the beer, to make the barrel where to keep it in; and if the smoker had to cultivate a field for the tobacco plant, to gather the leaves in, to dry them, to manufacture them into tobacco or cigars, and if he had also to mould the clay or cut the meerschaum for the tobacco-pipe he wishes to use,—both the drinkers and smokers would very soon find that the final enjoyment obtained was not worth the labour it required to put it within their reach. Although these considerations will offer a powerful obstacle against the indulgence in vicious habits in the future social state, they are, however, of no influence in the present state of society, where money is the easy medium of the exchange of labour, and where it always represents labour performed some time past, which renders people forgetful of past hardships and troubles, and they thus spend money easily and freely, even if it is the product of hard work, in order to

obtain the enjoyment of luxury by a deplorable sacrifice of their own labour. The luxury of high living,* the excessive and almost exclusive use of meat as the principal article of food, creates an immense amount of agricultural labour of the most disagreeable kind in the breeding, rearing, fattening, and driving of cattle, which, according to some highly-esteemed testimony, might advantageously be avoided by the introduction of a purely vegetable diet. Sir George Campbell says: "It is well known that the mass of the Scotch people became one of the finest and most vigorous races of the earth on oat-meal and a little milk, with scarcely any meat at all. There are no finer specimens of mankind than the Afghans and the natives of the Punjab, but they live on the simplest diet—a diet almost entirely without meat."

CHAPTER XI.—WASTE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE BY WHOLESALE TRADING.

IT is really surprising that the enormous waste of labour caused by the present system of the distribution of produce has not yet aroused the indignation of the political economist. But it seems that, on the contrary, he rejoices at the wasteful working of the system in both wholesale and retail trade. Being deficient of inventive ingenuity, he cannot imagine a better state of things in which this waste might be avoided, and he thus looks upon the present mode of distribution as the only possible one, and reasons that the waste connected with it is at least preferable to the abnormities that

* A cheerful prescription by the celebrated Dr. Brown runs thus:—
"For breakfast, toast and rich soup, made on a slow fire; a walk before breakfast, and a good deal after it. A glass of wine in the forenoon, from time to time. Good broth or soup to dinner, with meat of any kind he likes, but always the most nourishing. Several glasses of port or punch to be taken after dinner, and a dram of whisky after everything heavy. One hour and a half after dinner, another walk. Between tea-time and supper, a game with cheerful company at cards, or any other play, never too prolonged; lastly, the company of amiable, handsome, and delightful young women, and an enlivening glass."

for the accumulated labour of his whole lifetime, were it calculated at £1 per week, would in sixty years but amount to £3,000, which would scarcely be an equivalent sum to the value of many a costly jewel.

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losses and failures in commerce and trade can be repaired by subsequent success in speculation; but the social reformer maintains that, as capital cannot increase by itself unless it is fructified by labour, the amount of money once lost cannot be regained by subsequent successful operations without further appeal to the fructifying nature of labour.

To the waste of labour, caused by the frequent displacement of goods, and by the losses in unsuccessful commercial speculations, must be added the waste resulting from the injury and damage the goods themselves are frequently suffering by long lying in store, and by their repeated removal from one warehouse to another before they reach the retail dealer, who in his turn may be overtaken by slackness of trade, and have great quantities of goods spoiled in his shop.

The loss incurred by society at large from the present mode of distribution is nowhere more conspicuous than in the provision trade. The facts brought to light by the annual report of Dr. Letheby are startling in the highest degree; for they not only discredit the present mode of the distribution of food, but inculpate in a serious manner even the character of the distributors, and lead to the grave conclusion that our provision dealers deserve to rank high among the eminent poisoners of the nineteenth century, and that they are diverting from the support of the people, and especially of the poorer classes, an amount of food that had to be destroyed as unfit for human use, but which, under proper regulations, might have served to cheapen provisions, and to lighten the burdens of living. His report for the official year of 1873 states that the inspectors of meat and markets seized and condemned and destroyed 80 tons of meat, and in the bonded warehouses 896 boxes, 600 barrels, 30 hogsheads, 40 bags, and 69 cartloads of figs; 22 barrels of currants; more than a million of fish (weighing nearly 400 tons); 9,425 gallons of shrimps, 882 bushels of sprats, oysters, periwinkles, mussels, and cockles; 4,278 lb. of eels, and rather more than 8 cwt. of salmon. If one, however, considers that this spoiling and destruction of so much valuable food as stated above is not confined to London, but that a similar process and proportionate destruction of the means of living have obtained in all the large towns of the United Kingdom,—in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham,

Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, and many other places,—the injury inflicted upon the people is of fearful magnitude.

The exposure of the glaring defects of the present mode of distribution by means of the wholesale trade is in itself sufficient to condemn the entire system; and if the author can point out another arrangement that would economize the greatest amount of labour by exposing the goods to the least damage and injury; by reducing the labour now required in filling up the huge ledgers of the counting houses to such a minimum as would require not one hundredth part of the number of clerks now employed; then, every one will be anxious that such a change should be made without the briefest delay, and that the old counting-house, with its crowds of clerks and giant volumes of ledgers; the warehouse, with its narrow storerooms, so difficult of access; the chaotic bustle of the traffic, and all the confusion of the higgling market and annual fair, should be cleanly and speedily swept away, and that men's minds should in future be freed from those chronic evils called commercial speculation, risk, failure, bankruptcy, fraud, embezzlement, loss, panic, and the like; the final effects of which not only end in the ruin of isolated commercial houses and single individuals, but often check the prosperity of whole communities and endanger the safety of nations and states.

CHAPTER XII.—WASTE OF LABOUR IN RETAIL TRADE.

If the above picture of the wholesale trade be a faithful representation of the irrational working of the present system of distributing produce, the description which the author will presently give of the wasteful operation of retail trade will appear in still darker colours. Indeed, the waste of labour incurred in this operation is of so gigantic a character that it is even to social critics, who have studied the subject, an almost insurmountable task to state even an approximate estimate of its immensity. The author will, therefore, only be able to point out the chief causes of this enormous waste, and will leave the minor instances of the absurdity and wasteful-

ness of the system to the reader's own reflection and imagination.

The waste of labour and time in carrying out the operations of the retail trade begins with the shopkeeper himself, when he is sitting idle * in his shop, anxiously waiting for the arrival of customers, who, when they have come, very often do not purchase ; in which case the shopkeeper wastes his labour in an unnecessary display and replacement of goods, and the customer loses his time in an unsuccessful attempt to purchase. The time lost in idleness by waiting for customers is an indirect loss of labour, for the time thus lost could be profitably and usefully employed in other occupations ; and although the future social state will even grant a greater extension of the temporary cessation of labour than the shopkeeper now frequently enjoys, yet it will not be objectionable, because it will be the same for all employments. By the equal distribution of work and cessation from it, the shopkeeper will retain his leisure and perhaps enjoy it to a greater degree ; and the working man and factory operative, who are now bound to incessant work and strict hours of labour, will be relieved from the hardships of continuous daily, weekly, and yearly work, and have the same allowance of leisure as any other class of the community.

Social criticism goes, however, still further in its condemnation of the occupation of shopkeeping. From a comparison of the comfort, ease, and the almost total absence of any danger to limb and life, which those enjoy who are, either as masters or men, engaged in retail trade, with the occupation of those who have to perform heavy and often dirty work, coupled with great exposure to accidents and injury to health, one is induced to argue that even were the time of the retail dealer fully occupied, and did he not spend it in idleness by waiting for his customers, he would still be regarded by the hard-working multitude as one belonging to the privileged and favoured classes who are exempt from those hardships and dangers which others have to endure. This line of argument

* Mr. Goldwin Smith says :—" Retail shops can only be kept open on three conditions, all of them bad—first, the great waste of human labour, because each shopkeeper must be *idling* half his time ; secondly, undue profits, for without undue profits no man can live on a very small trade ; and thirdly, which is the worst of all, the credit system."

he engages an agent, who obtains for him permission to placard his advertisements in all the railway stations of the kingdom, and in the compartments of every railway carriage; and thus his business is made known throughout the whole length and breadth of the land. To give to his advertisement the greatest possible durability, he has even had it engraved on stone and combined with the mementoes of the dead, for we read that there is to be seen in a cemetery near New York, the following epitaph:—

“Here lies Jonathan Thompson,
A kind Husband and an affectionate Parent.
His disconsolate Widow continues to carry on
The Tripe and Trotter business
At the same place as before her Bereavement.”

But in order to ensure the final success of his trade, he calls to his assistance the newspapers; he finally invades not only every available corner of the paper, where he continually and persistently puts his advertisement at the end of some startling news, or under some sensational heading, but, besides this, he likes to occupy whole columns and even whole pages with the description of the novelties to be sold in his shop. At other times his name only will appear in the midst of a large blank space in a column of the paper, thus monopolizing for himself the room which other advertisers might be anxious to fill up, but whom for obvious reasons he does not want to see in the advertising field. The paper and printing wasted in the advertising columns of newspapers entail, moreover, a waste of steam-power; and as steam is generated from water by the application of coal fire, the labour of the coal-miner, of the coal-heaver, and of the engineer, is even requisitioned by the advertiser, and it may safely be assumed that half the steam-power used in the working of the printing presses is monopolized by the advertising columns of the newspapers. Moreover, half the space of many printed books, and especially periodicals, is filled with advertisements, which the reader is obliged to turn over leaf by leaf in order to arrive at the real text of the book indicated by its title page. To force the men sticking between two boards are like a slice of (bad) ham between two slices of (dry) bread.

reader to this perusal of advertising matter—which, out of a hundred, will not interest one—is to cause him a waste of time, and is a fraud of the same kind when the advertiser intrudes in the leading columns of a paper containing the most important news, and where he is quite sure to steal a glance from the eager and unsuspecting reader; which, though only a moment's loss of time, will, in the life-time of an assiduous newspaper reader, sum up to a goodly number of days. Horniman's tea, Holloway's ointment, and Glenfield's starch, are advertisements of this type, that continue pestering the eyes of readers in newspapers and books by their intrusive appearance in places where they are least expected to be met with.

The sum total of the waste of labour necessitated by the uneconomical distribution of produce, especially by retail trade, is, however, not yet completed. There remains yet to be considered the waste of labour in the consumption of gas, which farther incurs unnecessary work both from the gas-stokers who make the gas, and from the miner who digs the coal from which gas is made. In a well-organised state of society, the distribution of all kinds of goods would take place by daylight, and not a single gas-flame would consequently be burning for this purpose in any shop or warehouse.*

Of the greatest absurdity in retail trade is, also, the mode of the distribution of goods to customers by means of errand-boys, handcarts, vans, and vehicles of various kinds. The waste of labour and ridiculous aspect of this mode of distribution is nowhere better visible than in the case of the numerous bakers' and butchers' vans, carts, trays, and baskets, from which bread and meat are distributed. In the short time of a couple of hours, and in one and the same street, several bakers' carts and butchers' vans, all belonging to different tradesmen, may be seen engaged in delivering their goods to various customers in that street, and it will frequently happen that bread and meat are brought to one and the same house by several bakers and butchers. Having accomplished their several distributions, which could easily have been done from one

* "All the towns in Icaria are well lighted with gas, which can be done the better since the burning matter is no longer absorbed by private shops and premises."—M. CABET.

baker's cart and butcher's van, they hurry off at a furious rate, crossing each other in the most confused manner, and in all possible directions, accomplishing their mission with a prodigious waste of labour in spite of their furious driving. In this wasteful method of distribution, the loss of time and labour extends even into the sphere of the agriculturist, for he has to provide the hay and oats on which the horses feed that draw the vans and carts, and he has to grow the corn and fatten the ox from which to get food for the men and boys employed in this senseless mode of outdoor delivery of goods and articles of consumption. The political economist, however, is quite contented with it, and rejoices; for some retail dealers get rich through it, many men and boys obtain employment, and some of those employed become in their turn retail dealers, and enrich themselves. The same senseless chaos in the distribution of goods prevails throughout every branch of the retail trade, and is rapidly developing itself in the wholesale trade by the action of commercial travellers.

CHAPTER XIII.—AVOIDING ATTENDANCE TO OUR OWN PERSONS.

OTHER instances of the waste of labour are to be met with in all social positions, and do not wholly relate to trading. One of them occurs when persons engage others to do the work they themselves could have done. This instance chiefly relates to the waste of domestic labour which servants perform in wealthy families. The man who engages another one to clean his boots for him when he could have done it himself wastes labour. The work of the chambermaid who makes the beds of ladies and gentlemen, and cleans their rooms, is wasted; for these could, with very little trouble, and in less time, have made their own beds and cleaned their own rooms. The gentlefolks who keep horses and carriages, waste the labour of both coachmen and grooms, coachbuilder and harnessmaker, for they could have walked instead of being driven about, which would also have been more conducive to their health.

CHAPTER XIV.—WASTE OF LABOUR CAUSED BY THE LIMITED USE OF MACHINES.

THE limited application of machinery is, in many occupations, another great cause of the waste of labour. The sewing machine, for instance, ought to be in the hands of every tailor and tailoress; but as many of them are not able to defray the necessary outlay for the acquisition of this labour-saving agent and useful helpmate, labour is wasted in exact proportion to the power of the sewing machine, and the advantage this marvellous mechanical contrivance possesses over hand labour, by making an infinitely greater number of stitches, and more uniform, in a given fraction of time than the quickest plying of the needle by the tailor's fingers can accomplish. In passing the many repositories in which sewing machines are exposed for sale, and where their marvellous power lies spellbound by the inability of tailors to purchase them, the author is always induced to regard these unemployed machines as so many indicators of the waste of labour that is taking place in tailoring as long as they can find no purchasers.

The work of the tailor could, moreover, be greatly reduced by the application of machinery for cutting out the component parts of all kinds of garments of a similar pattern respectively; and it is rather strange that the inventive genius of this machine-building age has not yet turned its attention to this imperious demand, although the subject of waste occasioned by the absence of this and similar machinery in other trades has been repeatedly brought before the public by Mr. Riley in the *Times* and other prints.

In the manufacturing of shoes machinery is already employed with the greatest success, and it is much to be regretted that its cost prevents a more universal application of the same, especially by the poorer members of the trade, whose workshops are very often confined within such narrow limits that they scarcely afford room for the body and the action of the arms so peculiar in the craft of St. Crispin. The placing of machinery into the narrow stalls and rooms occupied by shoemakers is, therefore, impracticable, and as the acquisition of larger workshops would most likely swallow up the profits

derived from the benefits of machinery, he refuses to make use of it, and society experiences a waste of labour in exact proportion to the non-application of the power of these machines.

In bread-baking an enormous waste of labour could be prevented by a general introduction of machinery which has already stood the test of labour and time-saving quality.

Appliances and arrangements that might greatly reduce the labour of washerwomen are already taken advantage of to a certain degree by the use of the wringing and mangling machines, and even ironing has been done by the action of machinery alone. But the use of all these labour-saving helpmates is limited to the narrowest sphere of application by the almost universal poverty of washerwomen.

Instances of the neglected application of machinery might be pointed out in almost every trade. Even in such branches of modern industry where machinery is almost universally performing all the labour required, there is neglect of the use of machinery, and waste incurred by society from the tendency, certainly involuntary, of hand labour to continue struggling in a hopeless race with the giant strides of machinery. What can there be more lamentable than the continuance of handloom weaving for the production of cotton, linen, and silk cloth, in vain opposition to the marvellous achievements of the power-loom in these trades?

The social reformer also protests loudly against that kind of work which produces waste coupled with hardship of labour, and which instead of utilizing machinery, reduces men into mechanical implements, tools, and machines.

The sawpits and stoneyards are places in which human flesh and sinew are made to imitate to a nicety the vertical and horizontal and circular movements of levers, connecting rods, and cranks. They perform these imitations with a regularity and uniformity that would be great achievements were they not coupled with deadly monotony to the mind and painful exhaustion to the body of those whose unfortunate lot it is to perform these machine-like movements.

There can be very little excuse for not using steam or water power for the sawing of timber and stone more extensively than has hitherto been done; and it is a disgrace that in a country like England, where the manufacture of machinery and

the power of capital has risen to the highest pitch, no very marked benefit should have accrued to the 31,000 sawyers who have to perform the heaviest and most monotonous of all hand labour. Were these human machines supplanted by iron ones, the waste of the labour of 31,000 sawyers and of several thousand stone-cutters would be avoided, as their number would become available for other employments.

Rivetting by hydraulic pressure would at once disengage many thousand working men who now, with their brawny arms and amidst the deafening noise of tinkering hammers, fix the innumerable rivets by which the ponderous metal plates of steam boilers, girders for bridges, and other constructions are firmly and securely attached to each other. The "Portable Rivetter," lately in operation at the Great Eastern City Station Works, does its work with a pressure of from twenty to forty tons upon the square inch. The speed of its working is extraordinary. Three hundred rivets can be done by this machine in one hour—a good day's work for one gang of rivetters. Moreover, skilled men are not required, as any intelligent labourer can work the apparatus after a very little practice.

CHAPTER XV.—WASTE OF LABOUR IN THE ISOLATED PRIVATE HOME.

ONE other great source of the waste of labour is to be found in the isolated private home, and takes its origin from that peculiar mode of living which assigns separate homes and households to all families. The waste of labour caused by this isolation chiefly occurs in the operations required for the preparation of food and heating of apartments, and is so irrational and uneconomical that it may be compared to the absurd supposition of a regulation in military barracks, by which every soldier should have a separate fireplace and separate cooking utensils for the preparation of his food. The eating-house that would have to make a new fire for each chop or steak ordered, or the coffee-shop that would be obliged to do the same for each cup of tea or coffee required, are fair examples

of the waste of labour that takes place by the living of families in isolated homes.

The coal and fuel wasted through this mode of living amounts to such an enormous quantity that apprehensions are even entertained of a not very distant exhaustion of the extensive coalfields now being worked. The waste of coal entails the waste of the precious work of the coal-miner, who spends his lifetime in the silent bosom of the earth in a recumbent and painful position, and in imminent peril of his life, in order to extract from the depth of the mine the precious fuel which, in the isolated households, is wasted in the most careless manner, and under the pressure of the most stupid economical system imaginable.

In order to show a more economical arrangement by which this deplorable waste can be avoided, we need only point to the cooking department of large hotels and eating-houses, where food is provided for a multitude of persons with the use of one kitchen, one fireplace, and the labour of one cook and a few other assistants.

The isolated domestic hearth and fireplace in which food is cooked, becomes, moreover, a great inconvenience in the hot seasons of the year, because it is frequently situated in the dwelling and sleeping room of the family, and in consequence becomes overheated, and has its air charged with smoke from badly burning fires and dust from the accumulation of ashes.

In introducing to public notice the advantages of the Unitary Home, now in operation in the city of New York, Mr. Underhill gave, as illustrations of the Unitary plan of organization, the following considerations:—"Everybody knows that by co-operation economical results can be and are attained, and the fact finds a practical recognition in every department of human industry where advanced civilization exists, except in the household and agriculture. We know that whereas the steamer *New World* is a magnificent unitary travelling apparatus, with a unitary parlour, a unitary table, a unitary kitchen, and a unitary means of locomotion, and that it is better for all concerned, for speed, comfort, and economy, to carry us to Albany than are 500 clam sloops, we yet fail to recognise the fact that the St. Nicholas Hotel, with its unitary parlours, its unitary table, its unitary halls, its unitary heater, and its

machinery for economising labour, is infinitely better for 500 families than are 500 cramped houses with 500 seven-by-nine parlours, 500 little kitchens, 500 washtubs, 1,000 grates and stoves, and in the whole, no modern machinery to economise manual labour; and we fail also to recognise the further fact that the wives and daughters residing permanently in the St. Nicholas Hotel, being absolved from domestic drudgery, are free to engage in productive employment if they wish, as, at most, one-fifth of the usual number of women is sufficient, in the unitary household, to perform the service which requires the full 500 in isolated households, while, at the same time, the quality of the work done in isolation is not so good."

That cooking by gas may become a valuable element in the operation of the associated home can be adduced from the description of an improved cooking apparatus now in use at the London Hospital, Whitechapel. Its section for boiling consists of a frame eight feet long, two feet wide, three feet high. Its two ovens, each six feet high, three feet wide, and two feet deep, will bake 100 pies at one baking. Its boiling and frying apparatus will cook 120 chops in a few minutes. Its great roasting apparatus, or roasting well, will cook 500 pounds of meat in one operation, two hours being the time required.

CHAPTER XVI.—WASTE OF LABOUR BY USING ISOLATED WORKSHOPS.

THE whole series of cases of waste receives one more addition from the isolated and private working of nearly all handicrafts in separate petty workshops. A most glaring instance of this wasteful mode of executing one and the same kind of work in innumerable workshops and localities is shoemaking. To provide the English nation with shoes, there are engaged in this work 250,000 persons, and of this great number nearly every individual—every cobbler, every shoemaker, every small shoe manufacturer and shoe mechanist—has his own petty workshop, which in most cases serves him also as dwelling and sleeping room. The distribution of leather and other materials to these

small workshops requires innumerable errands on the part of the cobbler and shoemaker, and causes great loss of time. This waste could, however, easily be obviated by bringing the establishments of the leather cutters and those of the shoemakers into close proximity, by uniting all the separate petty workshops of the shoemakers into a few large establishments, and connecting with it, if possible, under the same roof, the repository of leather and other materials, and also of the tools used in the handicraft of the shoemaker.

The same economical arrangements carried out with regard to the workshops of tailors, hatters, cabinet-makers, and, in fact, with all those trades that are now carried on in isolated petty workshops, would lead to a great saving of time; and the author is convinced that by a close concentration of every trade into a few national workshops, and by bringing these into immediate connection with the storerooms of raw materials and repositories of tools used by the respective trades, the amount of labour now performed by the whole of the nation might become reduced by one-half of its present total.

CHAPTER XVII.—WASTE CAUSED BY DOWNRIGHT IDLENESS.

“ All times are times to be diligent ; for there is no more contemptible creature upon the face of the earth than the idle man. An idle man in the ranks of men must be compared to the reptile in the ranks of the animal creation.”—W. E. GLADSTONE.

NOBODY will dispute that idleness is loss of time, but the loss of labour it causes is not so palpable at first sight. It is, nevertheless, caused by idleness ; for as the existence of any member in a civilized community can only be maintained by the united labour of all, the idler, who does no work, lives at the expense of the labour of others ; he wastes their labour.

The great amount of idleness that prevails amongst the populations of all civilized countries, but which is greatest in England, proceeds from various causes. The idle vagrant and sturdy beggar are kept in idleness by the receipt of alms from

the hands of charitable persons. The one million of paupers who in this wealthy country receive in-door and out-door relief to the amount of £10,000,000 sterling annually, are kept in a kind of forced idleness, for they are not allowed to execute any kind of profitable work, lest such labour should interfere with the free and independent labour of other trades and occupations.

The picturesque Tourist, quoted by Carlyle, gives us the following sad description of the aspect which the inmates of a workhouse presented to him:—"I saw sitting on wooden benches, in front of their Bastille, and within their ring-wall and its railing, some hundred or more of these men—tall, robust figures, young mostly, or of middle age; of honest countenance, thoughtful and even intelligent-looking men. They sat there by one another, but in a kind of torpor, especially in silence which was very striking. In silence, for, alas! what word was to be said? An earth all round crying, 'Come and till me! come and reap me!' yet we sit here enchanted. In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief, shame, and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness. They returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say:—'Do not look at us. We sit enchanted here; we know not why. The sun shines, and the earth calls, and by the governing powers and impotence of England we are forbidden to obey. It is impossible, they tell us.' There was something that reminded me of Dante's Hell in the look of all this, and I rode swiftly away."

The soldiers are also idlers to a great extent; for when they have been once efficiently drilled, they would have plenty of time to be kept at work in useful trades and manufactures. But all Governments that have standing armies are afraid of employing them in remunerative work for the same reasons that keep paupers in workhouses at unprofitable occupations. This was also the reason why the employment of soldiers in assisting farmers at harvest time came lately into serious collision with the interests of the agricultural labourers, whose bitter remonstrances at last compelled the military authorities to grant no more permission to soldiers being employed in open competition with the already ill-paid agricultural labourers.

As idlers must also be regarded all grown-up children, adult

sons and daughters, nieces and nephews, who are staying at their paternal and family homes, where they are kept in comfort and ease by the means possessed by their parents and relatives.

The number of persons idly staying at home is given by the census of 1861 as follows :—

OF THE AGE	PERSONS.
From 10 to 15	186,000
„ 15 „ 20	42,000
„ 20 „ 25	5,000
„ 25 „ 30	1,700
„ 30 „ 35	680
„ 35 „ 40	400
<i>Total</i>	<u>235,780</u>

Half the time of all scholars, numbering 1,552,000, and who in the census are returned as not at home, is spent in idleness; for in a well-organized social state all children and grown-up scholars would have to employ a good part of their time in apprenticeship, and also in the partial performance of useful industrial and skilled labour.

The independent gentleman* and gentlewoman, and the tradesman who retires from active industry or commerce at an early period of his life, indulge very commonly in a species of idleness, whose time is filled up with the enjoyment of travelling, yachting, fishing, riding, driving, visiting, hunting, and taking part in various other sports and amusements. They never think that all the time they have been enjoying themselves, others had to work hard. The wealthy tradesman who retires with an ample competency excuses his idleness by saying that others may, by dint of thriftiness and hard work, get independent like himself, and having accumulated wealth, can then likewise indulge in the pleasure of idleness; but he does not consider that all cannot get rich. The nobleman supports the excuse of his idleness by saying that his wealth was bestowed upon him by the state, or that the foundation of his estates was laid centuries ago by his ancestors; that therefore

* Lord Coleridge says that a gentleman is a person who has no need to earn his own livelihood.

his idleness is a privileged one. He admits that he is a stranger to physical work, but urges in compensation for it his amateur pursuits in sciences, arts, and politics, and points with pride to those great men of the aristocracy who built harbours and canals, erected monster telescopes, wrote treatises on mechanics and mathematics, composed sublime poetry, and became eminent statesmen and renowned warriors.

But the nobleman in advancing these arguments in defence of his exemption from physical work does not consider the fact that there are few of his class who have, by their amateur pursuits in sciences and arts, attained any pre-eminent degree of celebrity, and he entirely loses sight of the enormous and vital difference between the pleasurable task of scientific and artistic pursuits, and the irksomeness and hardships of physical labour. The one is leisure, ease, and fame ; the other monotony, pain, and disregard.

The occupation of the statesman has sometimes been called labour, and Lord Palmerston used to boast in these words :— “ I am also a working man.” This title assumed by the great statesman would have been a just one if his statemanship had been as monotonous and dangerous as the labour of the mechanic and factory operative, and if its results had not secured to him great satisfaction, honour, and fame ; of which the common workman will never experience the great enjoyment, for his lot will be oblivion.

SECTION III.

THE HARDSHIPS OF LABOUR.

CHAPTER XVII.—MONOTONY.

OF the hardships a working man has to undergo none is greater than the monotony of labour arising either from the minute sub-division of labour, or from the repeated production of the same article or kind of work, over and over again. The refreshing variation combined with the production of a diversity of articles by one and the same handcraftsman is gradually disappearing from every trade. Tailoring, shoe-making, cabinetmaking, and many other skilled trades have to submit to the same rigorous law of the saving of labour by sub-dividing it into numerous branches of employment. The pleasure a tailor, for instance, might experience by the alternate exertion of his skill and ingenuity in making in turn coats, waistcoats, trousers, and different other garments, is destroyed; he is constrained to produce and reproduce one of these garments in innumerable repetitions during the whole time of his natural life, and takes the name of either coat-maker, waistcoat-maker, or trouser-maker. Even the use of the shears is taken out of his hand, and assigned to the professional cutter, or the cutting-machine; thus depriving him of that wholesome relaxation from a sitting to a standing position. The work of the shoemaker is, likewise, beginning to be subdivided into many branches. There is the sub-division of the craft into ladies' and mens' bootmakers, and the term boot-closer and clicker very significantly points to a sub-divided operation of the trade. The work of the cabinet-maker is split up in a similar manner. There are certain members of the trade who make chairs only, whilst others make nothing else but tables; and it is to be feared that the machine called “A

General Joiner," which by its marvellous action performs almost every operation in which the cabinetmaker, joiner, and carpenter are skilled, will before long introduce more monotony, less craft, and diminished bodily activity into these trades.

By the sub-division of labour and use of machinery, the term craft or handicraft, denoting a certain craftiness, cunning, or intelligence the tradesman and mechanic has to apply to the performance of his work, has now almost entirely lost its meaning,* and is ill-suited to the unvarying and machine-like work required in nearly all the trades and manufactures of modern times.

To what degree the monotony of labour must descend in the manufacture of needles, pins, and steel pens may be guessed from the number of operations each of these articles has to undergo, and from the circumstance that each operation is assigned to a different set of persons.

Social reformers admit and even advocate a still further subdivision of labour, to which society, in its regenerated state will, inevitably, be compelled to have recourse; but they also suggest that the monotony necessarily connected with minutely sub-divided labour might be, to a great extent, obviated by a rotatory transfer of every set of persons through all the sub-divided operations required for the production of a certain article of manufacture. The knowledge acquired by this rotatory work would not fail to impart a most varied skill to the hands so engaged, and to initiate the mechanic and operative with the whole process of manufacture, and to suggest to them ideas of improvement and even invention which they could not have conceived at all without having, previously, become acquainted with the details of the manufacture.

Moreover, it must be taken into account that, in an improved state of society, the inevitable amount of monotonous labour will be shared by all the members of the community, by which its burden and pain will be reduced for each individual work-

* Michelet complained that by sub-dividing labour we sub-divided manhood. Where in the Gothic era there would have been a whole man, well balanced in his faculties, self-reliant, and self-controlled, we have often in the nineteenth century the tenth part of a man—nervous, fantastical, and dependent on the capitalist that sweats him to death.

man ; and that even this common participation in monotony will be rendered less irksome to every one, because it will occur between long intervals of rest, amusement, and recreation, and will actually cease at that period of life when every member of the future social state passes from active and productive labour to the comparatively easy and varied occupation of the supervision and distribution of produce.

No prospects, however, should be held out of total exemption from labour and its monotony ; and the author lays down the following principle (already announced in his pamphlet, "The Democratic Charter of the Future") as a safe guide for the distribution of labour :—“ *Physical labour is to be equally distributed ; for if it is attractive there will be no difficulty in its distribution, and if it is repugnant we have no right to assign its performance to the working classes alone, as is the case in the present state of society.*”

Although monotony is one of the greatest hardships of labour under which the working classes are oppressed, it is, however, not the most serious one, for being only irksome* but not dangerous, it is surpassed by many other hardships, and especially by those innumerable agencies and circumstances that imperil the life of working men, maim their limbs, and injure their health.

CHAPTER XIX.—INJURY TO HEALTH.

NO trade is exempt from those deleterious influences which, in the long run, produce injury to health, and a predisposition to the development of certain diseases, which bring in their course long suffering and premature death.

The stonemason, the journeyman miller, and the baker have

* Sailors hate nothing so much as the incessant *monotonous* toil at the pumps. As the rickety craft strains and labours heavily in the trough of the sea, the leak increases, until a spell has to be taken at the pumps every hour throughout the day and night. How Jack hates the shrill whistle of the bo'sun, telling him that the time for his recreation has again arrived ! Up and down go the long levers of the pump ; clang, clang, clang, clang, echoes through the ship ; and Captain Scuttler, stretching out of his hammock to get the bottle of rum standing within convenient reach on a swing tray, thinks he never heard sweeter music.

their lungs choked with the dust from stone and flour, and rarely escape pulmonary consumption and premature death.

The injury to the lungs by minute particles of hard stone is especially of a most deadly character in the occupation of that unhappy, but happily small, number of working men engaged in the dressing of millstones, who scarcely ever attain the age of thirty before they succumb to the hardship of their calling.

The colliers suffer of a phthisis, attributable to the year-long inhalation of coal dust, which so thoroughly permeates and penetrates the substance of the lungs that they are as black as coal when taken from the chest of the collier. This impregnation of the lungs with coal dust is sooner or later accompanied with cough and shortness of breath, with attacks of bronchitis and asthma; and Dr. Arlide, of Stoke-upon-Trent, states that the sputum expectorated by patients suffering from collier's phthisis is exactly like black paint. The same medical authority states further that the lungs of the workers of other minerals are found to be coloured according to the colour of the mineral. Thus the inhalation of the red oxide of iron in very fine powder would give an intense red tile colour to the lungs.

The dissection and microscopic inspection of the lungs of copper miners found them full of minute metallic granules, and of a deep black colour, exuding a black fluid resembling Indian ink.

Pulmonary complaints are also of frequent occurrence in all the textile manufactures; and Doctor Thackray, of Leeds, speaks of the cotton phthisis permanently raging in the cotton manufacturing districts, and Dr. Arlide states the same to be the case in the flax manufacture. In how far the use of respirators can prevent the inhalation of deleterious substances must be ascertained by more extensive experiments, but if even found to be effective preventives, they will always remain a cause of inconvenience to those who are obliged to wear them; for they cannot but impede the free passage of air through the mouth and nose to the lungs.

Printers and compositors are greatly subject to consumptive complaints.

The house-painter, coach-painter, and plumber inhale the poisonous smell of lead and colours, and no respirator could

probably protect them against the deadly influence of these substances; which, in nearly every workman who has to use them, produce the so-called lead-cholic, frequently causing obstruction of the bowels, and often ends in death preceded by the most excruciating pains.

In all the dark places of industry, no more unwholesome employment can scarcely be conceived than ship-painting in the Devonport dockyard. Cases of frequent fainting and illness occur in the men who are engaged in painting between the double bottoms of the iron ships. Many parts of the iron ships between the double bottoms being most difficult of access, can only be reached by crawling on the belly and dragging the body forwards by the hands. The air being most scanty in the spaces remote from manholes, men are frequently hauled up in a state of insensibility by a rope slipped over their feet. Often a feeling of faintness comes over them, and sometimes when they begin to feel sleepy, as they express it, if still capable of the effort they make the best of their way out. The symptoms usually presented by men after three or four weeks of this work are compounded of blood poisoning from the repeated and prolonged breathing of impure air, and of lead poisoning. The only consolation the men have in their sufferings is a certain kind of blood-money: they get higher wages when thus employed, and half-pay when on the sick-list.

The engineer and machinist, who works in an atmosphere impregnated with the fine particles of iron and steel dust, has the capillary vessels of his lungs filled with these substances, which, if they are not directly causing pulmonary consumption, impart to the texture of the lungs a strong disposition to inflammation.

Locomotive engine-drivers become often totally blind, or have their sight hopelessly injured, through the rush of wind against their eyes, or the frequent entrance of particles of dust and coal.

But of all the trades suffering from injury to health, none unites so many evil causes as that of the baker; for not only is the inhalation of the dust from the flour hurtful to his lungs, but he has also to spend most of his time in unwholesome rooms, and in an intensely heated atmosphere charged with carbonic

acid gas, which escapes from the fomenting dough. His physical exertions in kneading the dough are also very exhaustive, causing excessive perspiration, palpitation of the heart and predisposition to apoplexy. Swelling and inflammation of the skin in the palms of the hands by the continual pressure of the dough against them, are also a common evil of the trade.

CHAPTER XX.—OTHER DISCOMFORTS.

THE physical exertion a working man has to apply to his work is also very great in many employments, and becomes injurious to his health in consequence of the exhaustion of muscular power. The puddling of iron and other metals, for instance, is one of these occupations requiring the heaviest work that the arms and hands of a man can perform; and it is sad to think that the puddler has to do this heavy and exhausting work in face of the glaring blast and scorching heat of the burning furnace.*

In the glass works the heat of the smelting oven is, generally, so great that the skin is burned off the men's faces, and their cheeks, foreheads, and chins become covered with hideous large red scars.

In the stove of a pottery the workpeople have generally to endure a temperature of 120 degrees, and in many rooms of a cotton manufactory the heat is kept at similar height.

The labour of the blacksmith is also of a very heavy kind, and the swinging of the ponderous hammer produces, in the lifelong exercise of the trade, a deformity in the position of the shoulders of the man by considerably raising the shoulder in which are inserted the muscles of the arm that lifts the heavy implement.

The shoemaker becomes afflicted with hydrocele, from sitting in a curved and compressed position, and from the concussion

* "The working men of this country keep on toiling and toiling, working in the mine, at the loom, or being found drawing masses of fire from the burning iron blast. Still they do not complain. What other class of society, I ask, has ever endured the throes and embarrassments of an outraged situation as have the working classes?"—MR. GEORGE ODGER.

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which the frequently repeated blows on the last exercise on the lower part of his body.

To all these injurious and inconvenient influences must yet be added the discomforts arising from the repulsive nature of many employments.

In some trades the men work in an atmosphere filled with the most horrible stench. The work of the nightman, of the tanner and skinner, of the gas-stokers, and of those who work in sewers, is of this repulsive nature; and the odour inhaled by the men employed in these and similar trades is so thoroughly imparted to the lungs, transmitted to the blood, and absorbed by the skin, that their breath, perspiration, and secretions will continue to emit it long after the time they have left their employment altogether, and have endeavoured to rid themselves of it by repeated ablutions and change of linen.

In many occupations men have to work in suffocating clouds of dust, as, for instance, the labourers who are engaged in the demolition of old buildings, those who have to remove the ashes from the dustbins of private houses, and those who have to sift them.

Many persons work in factories amidst the deafening noise and rattle of machinery, and others are, like the engine driver on railways and the brickmaker in the brickfields, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and become what is called "weather-beaten," and liable to be attacked with chronic rheumatism.

The miners, who work beneath the surface of the earth, are deprived of the bright daylight and merry sunshine, and pass their lives in subterranean abodes, which the pitman's song depicts, with great truth, as a place where—

" Day never glimmered, and plants never bloomed,
Where sweet-scented zephyrs a leaf never stirred,
And the voice of the warbler never was heard ;
But where many horrors midst darkness abound,
And thick stifling vapours flow deadly around."

Coal-heavers and chimney-sweepers have their skin besmeared with a coating of black matter consisting of coal-dust and soot liquified by sweat, which naturally must impede the functions of the skin, and cause a person great trouble by the

daily ablutions and cleansing to which he must resort in order to put his body into that state of cleanliness which will secure it a comfortable night's rest in a clean bed.

That coal miners are exposed to similar inconveniences, and have, moreover, to suffer excessive heat in deep mines, may be gathered from a description of Mr. Lloyd Jones's descent into one of Earl Granville's coal pits, 575 yards deep:—"When we reached the heading," said he, "there was a man naked from his waist up, labouring with a pickaxe to liberate the coal. The heat was intolerable, and the man's blows were so rapid as to involve great exertion. He was sitting in the coal that had fallen down, or rather was so crouched down as to appear to be sitting, and was begrimed all over with coal-dust, which was running down his body in *muddy streams*. He was earning his bread in the sweat of his brow, it is true, but he was earning it also in the sweat of every pore in his skin, and in such a way as produced wonder and pity to think that any human creature, under any pretence whatever, should have to lead such a life."

The *Globe* newspaper of October 4th, 1873, contained a similar description of the hardships the pitman has to undergo in his avocation. A correspondent of this paper being sent down into the mining districts, reported the following:—"The colliery inspected lies some four miles from Mold, just on the break of a well-wooded dell, at the bottom of which ripples a silver trout stream, arched over with branching ferns. A pretty, sylvan spot, sweet-scented, pure-aired, full of idyllic tenderness, contrasting strongly with the suffocating darkness in which the miners work. How perilously the bucket sways as we go down the dank, dripping shaft, at the bottom of which glistens, like some strayed sixpence, a shining surface of still water! Not sorry are we when, our conveyance being deftly hooked into a side tunnel by a brawny-armed miner, we stand on firm ground once more. Then, lighting tapers stuck in balls of clay, we follow old John Hughes, the captain of the mine, and listen somewhat deferentially as the grizzled veteran explains the manner of working. 'It's nasty, tiresome stuff to work, this Brassy vein—makes a deal of slack, it does.' Seeing that the vein is little more than a yard thick, and the drift of corresponding height, we opine that working in Brassy must

beget broken backs after a day or two. Stooping double, we grope our way through the dim darkness, with cold clay slush nearly sucking off our boots, our heads touching against the shaly roof, and chilly drops of black water finding their way down our backs, until the drift end is reached, and we come upon a miner at work. Naked to the waist, amidst a white steam of perspiration, that lies thick and heavy in the dank atmosphere, with no other light than the sickly glimmer of a dimly-burning taper, a creature like some gigantic kind of antediluvian toad is squatted in a narrow hole, hewing with might and main at the splintering Brassy. In such a cramped position the work would be sufficiently trying even if pursued in the open air; how infinitely more distressing in a suffocatingly hot atmosphere, damp and stifling as that of a Turkish bath, but rendered still more unbreatheable by rank coal gas and the sulphurous fumes of blasting powder! To us standing inactively there, in that dismal archway, there is a terrible difficulty in drawing breath, whilst our tapers, unable to burn without oxygen, have to be reversed every now and then to keep them alight."

In a touching but somewhat sarcastic vein, the "Pitman's Lay" refers to the hardships of the colliers in these lines:—

"Think on us, hinnies, if ye please,
An' it were but to show yer pity;
For a' the toils and tears it gie's,
To warm the shins o' Lunnon city."

All these inconveniences and discomforts are, however, only the lesser hardships of labour. Evils of a far greater magnitude are detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.—LOSS OF LIFE AND BODILY INJURY.

TO these nearly all handicrafts and employments are more or less exposed. The most skilful workman is liable to inflict injury upon himself by the very tools the safe use of which seems at all times to be so thoroughly under his com-

mand. The tailor will occasionally injure himself with the needle, the carpenter with the axe, the joiner with the chisel. Numberless amputations of fingers, hands, and arms are the consequence of these bodily injuries, arising from mishaps in the use and handling of tools and materials.

Still more numerous, and also more fatal, are those accidents to limb and life over which the working-man has little or no control. The bursting of steam-boilers, the explosion of fire-damp in coal mines, the flooding of mines, the wrecking of vessels,* the falling of scaffoldings, the accidents by machinery and on railways, destroy every year hundreds of lives, and maim the bodies of many thousands of the working classes.

To what fearful amount accidents in factories are still taking place, in spite of the legally required fencing in of machinery, is seen from the following table in the Factory Inspector's Report for 1872, containing the number of accidents for six months of the year only :—

ACCIDENTS.	
Causing death	207
Amputation of right hand or arm	35
" of left hand or arm	29
" of part of right hand	327
" of part of left hand	265
" of any part of leg or foot	22
Fracture of limbs or bones of trunk	208
" of hand or foot	203
Injuries to head and face	266
Lacerations, contusions, and other injuries not enumerated above	2346
 Total	 3918

Another half-yearly return of nearly 4,000 accidents would bring the yearly amount close up to 8,000 ; † and, if to these is

* "The sailor's avocation, so useful to many nations, is but a life-long series of perils and slavery, which a man accepts in exchange for some brilliant but short episode in his career, which but too often ends in the wreck of his splendid constitution."—*The Daily News*.

† In order to display, in an unmistakeable manner, the dangers to which factory operatives were exposed, during their employments, by

added, the loss of 500 British sailors in the 1,500 shipwrecks that yearly happen on the shores of these islands; * and if the number thus obtained is still further increased by 298 deaths caused by railway accidents, and of which 164 befell railway servants; † and if, finally, the grand total is closed by the addition of 1,076 lives lost in 1871 in the coal mines of Great Britain, the statement once made by Lord Shaftesbury, that the number of workmen annually killed and injured by accidents would furnish a complete regiment of soldiers, is by no means an exaggeration.

That the men who perished within the last ten years in the mines of the United Kingdom would form a strong army corps of many regiments, is to be seen in the following appalling statistics relating to the mortality and risk that the avocation of the miner entails, and which were brought before the conference of the Associated Miners, held at Walsall, October 4th, 1872, by Mr. Pickard, who said, "The average span of the miner's life is twenty-seven years. During the last ten years, twelve thousand miners ‡ lost their lives in accidents, and unboxed machinery and other causes, Mr. Philip Grant collected (about the year 1838) an army of factory cripples in Manchester, and, having placed them in military array, six deep, they reached from the bottom of Market Street to Ardwick Green, a distance of about two miles.

* Commander Dawson, R.N., gives the following statistics of the number of sailors who lost their lives at sea in two years:—

	1872.	1874.
At home	590	506
Abroad (excluding foreigners)	1,892	4,013
In missing ships	1,214	2,381
<hr/>		
Total	3,696	6,900

† The Executive Council of the Railway Servants' Society allege that on the various railways in Great Britain, one man is killed every day, and several injured, throughout the whole year. Mr. Bass states that in 1873 the number of killed servants rose to 1,200, and of injured to 27,000.

‡ If to these 12,000 lives lost in the mines we add 15,000 lost at sea, (the Wreck Register for 1873-74 gives 31,168 lost in twenty years), and if we further increase these appalling figures by 10,000 relating solely to railway servants killed in ten years, we obtain 37,000 as the fearful amount of the sacrifice of life. To these we may add 3,000 more for loss of life in factories; making a total of 40,000 persons, exclusively members of the working classes, who have to lay their lives down as sacrifices demanded by the exigencies of trade and commerce!

every twelve months *five thousand* miners are disabled by the same agencies."

The occurrence of frightful accidents resulting in loss of life and mutilation of the body, will always be more or less connected with physical and especially with machine-attending labour, and will even take place in an improved state of society, although not in such terrible proportions; for precautions will then be greater, regulation stricter, and the diminution of all physical labour will, at the same time, reduce the number of accidents and peril to limb and life.

That these unavoidable accidents should befall the working classes alone, and that they alone should have to face these terrible perils, is, in the opinion of the author, a revolting injustice, resulting from the inequality in the stations of life, which exposes one class of society to imminent danger of bodily injury and loss of life, whilst others are exempt from it; and he asserts, that no money in the shape of wages, were they ever so high, and no participation in the profits of the employer's capital, however liberally conceded to the working classes, could ever be a just compensation for peril to limb and life, injury to health, and other great hardships.

If there is unavoidable danger, it will have to be shared by all, otherwise justice is grossly outraged.

This argument is sure to be met with the observation that, if men meet with accidents in certain occupations, it is in consequence of their fatal lot to be placed in those trades and situations of life; for it is Providence, and neither they themselves nor society, that has assigned to them those dangerous and irksome occupations; and as there will always be hewers of wood and drawers of water, those so engaged will also have to put up with all the hardships connected with their labour.

This religious argument of the case of unavoidable accidents connected with trades and handicrafts, loses, however, all its power, when opposed by the prospect of a new social organization, in which all will feel it their duty and be enabled to share in these dangers, according to the injunction of Christ, "Do unto others as thou wouldest be done by them." The new social state having rendered possible the discharge of this great and humane duty by the equal distribution of all physical labour, it will also consider any withdrawal from it as con-

stituting a grave offence against justice, and an unpardonable infringement of the sacred principle of equality, that would most surely bring down upon the offender the just punishment of the law, and the fierce indignation of the whole community.

The long array of hardships and wrongs which constitute so many sufferings of the working classes, receives yet another illustration in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXII.—CESSATION OF WORK AND LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT.

THIS evil, which in its immediate and remote consequences very often leads to great sufferings of body and mind, not unfrequently causing the self-destruction of the sufferer, arises from a variety of sources. The burning down of a factory, the bankruptcy of an employer, a commercial crisis, a failure or scarcity in the supply of raw materials, may temporarily throw out of employment great numbers of people. Large multitudes become often and suddenly reduced to poverty through the unexpected introduction of labour-saving engines,* and find the greatest difficulty in either becoming the attendants of the new machines that have supplanted their labour, or in procuring employment in other trades. A very sad example of this latter kind was the fate of the wool-combers of Bradford, who, being supplanted on a sudden by the introduction of the wool-combing machine, filled the work-houses in great numbers and for many years.

A similar cruel fate has also befallen the once numerous, honourable, and contented class of skilled artizans called weavers, who, before the introduction of the power-loom, worked on their hand-looms, and wove cotton and linen yarn and silk thread into pieces of cloth. So rapid has been their extermination by the influence of the mighty competitor

* Mr. Nasmyth stated before the Trades Union Commission that by the introduction into his workshops of self-acting tools he was able to dispense with the labour of all that class of men who depended upon mere dexterity ; and as a matter of fact he reduced the number of men in his employ by *fully one-half*.

(machinery) that from hundreds of thousands (in 1838 they numbered still 800,000) there remain now but pitiable remnants of tens of thousands, who gradually succumb to the same exterminating influences, and are, in the parlance of American slang, "improved off the land," in order that industrial progress may run its wild career without the least regard to those it tramples down with its iron heels.

In 1875 there were in Scotland still existing 16,000 hand-loom weavers, living on the very verge of starvation. When, in the same year, some hundreds of them applied for relief to the city authorities of Glasgow, they were ignominiously put to scavenging the streets of the town where they were well known, and where they used to play and roam about in happy boyhood. To what condition the hand-loom weaver of the north of England was reduced, even thirty years ago, may be guessed from the following correspondence, addressed, in 1846, from Huddersfield, to the *Morning Post* by their Special Reporter,* who says:—
"While walking in the outskirts of this town in company with a gentleman once engaged in manufacturing industry, I met a poor man trudging into Huddersfield, and bearing on his shoulders something which, though not of great bulk, seemed to overtask his physical powers. When I first noticed him he appeared to be a mendicant. If his meagre outline and faltering step had not made me pity the apparently simulated 'sorrows of a poor old man,' I should have exclaimed, 'This is a *pose plastique* of the *Apothecary* in Romeo and Juliet!' His habiliments were in perfect keeping with the character. Had he been enacting the part he could not have dressed more appropriately. A jury of antiquarian tailors could hardly decide in what fashionable, or rather unfashionable, era his clothes were made. As a *dramatis pauper*, I thought he was exceedingly well made up, and would have done ample credit to any London boards. As he approached, I anticipated some solicitation for pecuniary assistance. I was disappointed. He exhibited in his poverty—which was but too real—much self-respect and the bearing of an independent spirit. My friend accosted him, and finding him communicative, entered into conversation with him, and by a series of appropriate questions drew out the history of the man's misfortunes. It is soon told;

* Mr. John Hanly.

but I regret that I have not preserved it in his own Yorkshire dialect. He was a hand-loom weaver. Formerly by his individual efforts he had been able to provide himself with a superabundance of the necessaries, and many of the enjoyments and refinements of life. Now, with the assistance of his wife and three of his children, he only earns, on an average, ten or twelve shillings a week, working from twelve to fourteen hours a day. I inquired when his waistcoat was made. He said he could not tell. ‘Can you guess within twenty years of the time?’ ‘The truth is,’ said he, ‘it was thrown off a few years ago by a young man in my neighbourhood, and I am wearing it ever since.’ The neatness and care with which his trousers and coat were patched strongly impressed me with a conviction of the poor man’s taste and inherent love of decency, and induced me to inquire whether he had any better clothes, and what place of worship he attended. He replied that these were the only clothes he had to ‘go a bunting in’ (*i.e.*, to wear on Sundays and other special occasions); and as they were not good enough to appear in at church, he generally went to chapel. What he was carrying when I met him was a piece of cloth, the weaving of which he had just completed. He was taking it to the master manufacturer, of whom he spoke in very high terms. He had to come into Huddersfield from a distance of six miles to get the materials for work, and of course the same distance to travel when it was finished, in order to get paid. He had, therefore, to travel, to and fro, twenty-four miles for every piece of work he finished; and taking into account the delays and disappointments which he experienced, he calculated that he lost at least two days every fortnight. He seldom partook of animal food, and the luxury of a blanket he had not enjoyed for years. He is acquainted with *hundreds* whose circumstances are equally wretched. He attributed all his misfortunes to the unrestricted action of machinery.”

We may safely assume that out of several millions of once well-to-do hand-loom weavers (with whom we also count the poor weavers in India and Saxony, who perished by thousands in consequence of being displaced by the English cotton manufacture), everyone underwent a similar process of gradual impoverishment, degradation, and suffer-

ing by slow starvation. When we consider that in this instance, every individual case of impoverishment presents already years and years of suffering, and when we, moreover, multiply this accumulation of years by the several millions of persons so afflicted, we arrive at so appalling an amount of misery that even the sufferings endured by the victims of inquisition and slavery lie light in the balance against it.

O Civilization! falsely so called, it is thou that art answerable for these inhuman inflictions of pain and degradation on thy own children; and if there should ever come a day of reckoning, the abettors and instigators of these cruel misdeeds and derelictions of the duty to humanity will surely be called to account; amongst whom there will certainly figure in the first rank of the deepest dye of guilt the authors, professors, disciples and propagators of the science of political economy—the dismal science—the science of inhumanity—*alias* “M'Crowdy’s dreary science”!

Mr. F. B. Barton, a well-known positivist, says on this subject:—“To the trying vicissitudes to which the physical worker is subject we must not forget to add the wholesale displacement of his labour by machinery, which leaves him often suddenly and completely destitute, like a wrecked and shattered vessel stranded on the beach far above the rising tide. Surely it is neither just nor humane that they who have been working the best part of their lives in producing their country’s wealth should be suddenly and unceremoniously cast aside to shift as best they can, because machinery has been introduced to supersede their labour; and to say that they will reap the benefit hereafter is mere mockery, for ‘while the grass grows the steed starves.’”

The migration of trades, although not acting so suddenly as the introduction of labour-saving machines, is even more injurious to the working population of the district where trade begins to decay, or to migrate, because its effects are not so discernible even to the working-men themselves; they obtain gradually less and less employment, but still cling to the hope that their trade will return, and that matters will improve. The silk weavers of Spitalfields have long and patiently put up with the gradual decline of their trade caused by the migration of the silk manufacture to Macclesfield and

other localities, and by the inroads of foreign competition, but have made no provision to follow the trade into those new localities, till at last they have become too poor to do so, but are obliged to betake themselves to the workhouse.

CHAPTER XXIII.—INSUFFICIENCY OF WAGES.

THIS is especially true of the wages of agricultural labourers, whose earnings are so very low that they scarcely provide the means of existence.

A country labourer in Brittany earns 9d. a-day; an Irishman, before the famine, worked on the land for even less; and the agricultural labourers of England, generally with large families, get from 7s. to 10s. per week. In stating this low rate of wages, Louis Blanc adds this sympathetic reflexion:—“How many tears does each of these cyphers represent! what cries of anguish! what cares violently driven down into the abysses of the heart!”

In 1874, Professor Fawcett argued that the position of the agricultural labourer in England is not so good as it once was; that is to say, he used to have a good many little privileges of which he now finds himself deprived. He has lost by the introduction of machinery much of the extra payment at harvest time, on which he could once rely for clearing off the year's scores, and commencing with a fresh start and a little money in hand. He does not get his old daily allowance of milk; and milk and butter, and most other farm produce, have risen very considerably in price. The consequence is that, even with 12s. a week, he would not now be as well off as he was some years ago.

The wages earned by miners, sailors, sawyers, stone-cutters, coal-heavers, labourers who assist the building trades, paviors, gas-stokers, engine-drivers and their firemen, and of all those trades which combine heavy work with peril to limb and life, are decidedly too low. These trades, which, in justice to humanity, should be the highest paid ones, generally stand at the lowest level, when compared with other more fortunate employments.

The means of raising wages artificially by strikes will go a great way in the correction of the evil, but will lose its efficacy when all the trades, employments, and occupations will have succeeded in simultaneously raising their wages to a higher level; for it will then happen that the universal increase of wages will also have universally enhanced the price of all commodities. But as such a simultaneous action of all the trades for an increase of wages is, in the present isolated position of many, and the entire inability or neglect of others to form united action, a mere idle supposition, the means of obtaining better remuneration through strikes, arbitration, or voluntary concession by employers, will not lead to a general and simultaneous rise in the prices of all articles of consumption. Partial strikes must therefore be considered to be, on the whole, beneficial to the working classes.

However, as this benefit is derived by the working classes from the neglect and inactivity of a portion of the trades, social reformers question the equity of the high-paid artizan to live upon the low-priced articles produced by low-paid workmen.

Strikes are at best only a partial means of bettering the condition of the working classes. The emancipation of labour must be effected by other and more radical changes.

In correcting the insufficiency of wages, strikes have grappled with only one of the evils that oppress the workman, and can do little more. Even a general strike fund, for which the "International Working-men's Society" proposed to devise means at their last congress at Geneva, can afford no panacea for the wrongs of labour.

Strikes, partial or general, cannot lessen the monotony of labour which keeps pace with the increasing subdivision of work; they can prevent neither migration of trades nor concentration of manufactures, which cause loss of employment; they are powerless against the introduction of machinery, which supplants human labour; and they have no control over accidents, perils to limb and life, injury to health, and other evils and discomforts that endanger and imbitter the existence of the working-man.

These serious evils which lie beyond the scope of trades unions and strikes, are faults in the construction of the present

system of society; and it is on the question of their causes and effects, and their relation to justice and humanity, that the present social arrangement presents to social criticism the most vulnerable pointsof attack.

“ But shall it ever thus remain ?
Shall man contented be
To starve, creating wealth for those
Who mock his misery?
No ! ev’ry hour of time improves
The mighty wing of Mind,
And Man shall learn his power, and leave
His woes, his wants behind.”

C. COLE.

PART II.

Principles upon which the Reconstruction of Society is to be based.

SECTION I.

MEANS OF DEMOLITION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

CHAPTER XXIV.—OUTLINES OF THE NEW SOCIAL FOUNDATION.

THE leading principles that shall introduce a radical change in the present social order, have already been foreshadowed by the criticism which the author has applied to the existing irrational system of society. In this criticism he described the hideous aspect of poverty, and the intense sufferings of the poor; he exposed to public view the infamous practice of prostitution; he condemned celibacy and censured the present matrimonial arrangements; he opposed the institution of the isolated private home; he painted the evils arising from the existence of money and private property; he rejected the principle of inheritance; he enlarged upon the present waste of labour; he enumerated the hardships that oppress the working-classes; and, finally, he proved the existence of a fearful amount of idleness.

The irrational, uneconomical, and anarchical working of the present social order will, however, only be fully conceived in all its magnitude of evils and economical contradictions, when a new system of the reconstruction of society has been logically and scientifically expounded, and when the principles

of the new social foundation have been firmly laid down and the means clearly indicated by which the subversion of the present abnormal social arrangement shall be brought about.

The guiding principles upon which this social demolition, and reconstruction is to proceed, are chiefly the following:—
 1. Abolition of money, inheritance, and private property. 2. Restriction of the isolated household, and development of the associated home. 3. Freedom of sexual unions. 4. Compulsory and equal sharing of all physical labour. 5. Economical arrangements for the prevention of waste. 6. Organization of labour. 7. Equal division of the means of existence and enjoyment. 8. Universal diffusion of education, sciences, and arts.

CHAPTER XXV.—ABOLITION OF MONEY.

“ Gold, many hunted, sweat and bled for,
 Wak'd all the night, and labour'd all the day ;
 And what was this allurement, do'st thou ask ?—
 A dust, dug from the bowels of the earth,
 Which, being cast into the fire, came out
 A shining thing that fools admired, and called
 A god ! ”

POLLOCK.

THE existence of money has in all ages been condemned as the root of all evils, and it is but too true that in order to gain this glittering bauble, men will sacrifice their homes, impair their health, disregard comfort, and forsake their truest and best friends.

Wise legislators have in many instances made laws for the especial purpose of counteracting the evil practices arising from the use of money. Lycurgus, the great Spartan lawgiver, tried to check the accumulation of wealth by rendering the circulating medium cumbersome, which he effected by introducing large coins of iron, instead of the small gold and silver ones.* Legislators of more modern times have made rigorous

* To convey 10 Minas, or about £40 worth of Spartan iron money, would have required a heavy waggon and a strong yoke of oxen.

laws against the practice of usury; and although these wise enactments have of late, and to the regret of many, been revoked, the proposals of the most advanced amongst the radicals of our own time intend, on the contrary, to attack the power of money in a more effective and radical manner than was ever done by the old usury laws; for they propose even a progressive income tax to be levied on all accumulated capital.*

The true social reformer, however, regards all these measures as inefficient for the eradication of the evil, and sees in the total abolition of money the only means by which a better organization of society can be promoted; for he is convinced that all other attempts to reform the present social order, whatever may be their aim and purpose, will prove failures as long as money shall co-exist with them.

The very day money is abolished, the inexorable law that if a man does not work neither shall he eat, will become a stern reality, and society will, as by magic, arrive at an equitable arrangement of the division of labour and distribution of produce. With the abolition of money, a great number of persons who are now engaged as bankers, banker's clerks, money-dealers, money-lenders, money-changers, and others of similar occupations, will become available for the performance of useful labour in the production and distribution of commodities, and the waste of labour and time, which now accompany every payment where change is to be given,—the tediousness of which is in no instance more provoking than in the process of a multitude of persons making payments and receiving change at the booking offices of railway stations,—will entirely be done away with.

With the abolition of money there will also cease those pitiful lamentations at the loss of coins, and of purses con-

* "Citizens whose income does not exceed what is necessary to their subsistence, are dispensed from contributing to the public expenditure. The rest ought to contribute *progressively*, according to the extent of their fortunes."—12th article of Robespierre's "Rights of Man."

"Taxation ought chiefly to be levied on superfluities, and ought not only to be proportional, but also progressive."—ROUSSEAU.

Robert Owen's "Charter of the Rights of Humanity" proposes to raise the whole revenue of a state by a *graduated* property tax, and to organise a system of national employment and universal education.

taining small or large sums of money ; and the trade of the pickpockets, thieves, embezzlers, and forgers, will totally lose its lucrative prospects and dangerous allurements, and this not only by the radical change that no more coins, banknotes, checks, shares, and other representatives of money shall remain in circulation, but also by the fact that these depredators will not by any means be able to obtain one single day's shelter and food without having performed their due share in the allotment of national labour.

Money having once come into total disuse, society will be spared the sad necessity of inflicting upon many of its members punishments of imprisonment ranging from a few days to a long term of years, not unfrequently preceded, or accompanied at regular intervals, by flogging. The criminals thus punished are truly to be pitied, for society could, by the abolition of money, and by placing all property into the hands of the state, have removed the causes and motives of, and allurements to the crimes.* This is especially true of the crime of forgery, by which large sums of money and valuable property are now often obtained without incurring the danger of the highwayman, robber, and garrotter, who, very often, have to encounter a life-and-death struggle with their victims that may leave easy traces of detection behind it. In the new social state no one will take the trouble of forging coins, banknotes, or checks, for all property being vested in the hands of the state, and being through them distributed to all the members of the community without the intervention of money, the forged coins or papers could afford no means for the acquisition of any valuables or consumable commodities, such as food, cloth, dwelling, etc. In its regenerated state, society will no more have occasion to treat any of its members like the four men, Austin Biron Bidwell, George Macdonnell, George Bidwell, and Edwin Noyes, who on the 23rd of August, 1873, were found guilty of forgeries, by which they deprived the Bank of England of £102,000 in hard cash, and for which they were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

* The Paris newspaper, *La France*, says:—"A day will come when that arsenal of useless punishments, sufferings, and cruelties, called the penal system, will disappear ; the judge will be replaced by the doctor, the gaoler by the nurse, the hangman by the schoolmaster, the tribunals by hospitals, and expiation by education."

The non-existence of money in the future social state will, moreover, have a highly sanitary influence upon the people ; for it will prevent intemperance and gluttony and other excesses, which they now are prone to indulge in, by having at their uncontrolled command the power of money.

The abolition of money will also put a final check upon betting and gambling, and people will then hear no more of those painful and distressing scenes of despair and frequent suicides that follow heavy losses and reverses of fortune in unsuccessful gambling and betting transactions.

By the suppression of money, prostitution will have the principal object of its existence removed, and theft, fraud, embezzlement, robbery, and forgery, having likewise vanished, the greater number of crimes will have disappeared, and also the sufferings on account of their punishments, and so much more happiness will then prevail.

The proposed abolition of money raises, however, two questions of an apparent difficulty, which the author is, however, quite ready to answer in, he thinks, the most satisfactory manner. These questions are—How is the commerce with foreign nations, who still keep money, to be carried on ? and, What is to be done with the precious metal when the gold and silver coins are once melted down ?

The first of these questions is solved by the arrangement which permits the Government of the new social state to retain a certain amount of bullion, either in coins or bars, as a means of carrying on the trade with foreign countries. This international trade by means of money will be entrusted to official trading agents, or commissioners, whose transactions will probably not amount to one-tenth part of the value of the present imports and exports ; for, in the new social state, all transit trade will become unnecessary, as the Government will not trade to enrich themselves, but will merely carry on foreign commercial intercourse for the sake of obtaining the requisite amount of goods and materials for the consumption and industry of the home country.

This system of trading by Government agency * will, more-

* In *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1875, Mr. Bret Harte speaks of a golden time "when commerce shall be taken out of the hands of rogues and gamblers, and effectually organized under the Board of Trade."

over, possess the great advantage of exactly fixing the amount of goods to be imported; for the amount of their consumption is previously known by the state being the controller, director, and manager of all trades and manufactures. The state, as the sole manufacturer and proprietor, would indulge in no over-production, or make purchase of goods and materials which would lie idle in the national storehouses. In this manner, supply and demand would be strictly regulated, and not produce those oscillations between scarcity and repletion so common in the system of commerce by individual traders.

The precious metals, as a medium of commercial interchange, might even, by proper arrangements with foreign traders, be entirely dispensed with, and barter, pure and simple, become the mode through which the Government agents might deal with other nations. Barter is even at the present time the great soul and essence of foreign commerce. The shipper, for instance, who brings a vessel laden with cotton goods to India, does not return in ballast only, but will take in other goods in the very place of his debarkation. He is most likely to ship opium to China, and there exchange it for tea and silk, and return homewards with this last cargo. This is, in the opinion of the author, a system of barter which becomes the more necessary the further distant the countries are to which goods are sent; and it is mostly owing to this that the trade between Russia and China, which is one of some magnitude, especially on the Siberian frontier, is still carried on by a system of barter, or reciprocity, that obliges the respective traders of both nations to a mutual exchange of goods corresponding to equivalents in their value.

Trade carried on by barter would have to rely on the valuation of goods by official appraisers, appointed from both sides of the trading nations; and valuation of this kind might, in the end, prove more satisfactory than the estimates private traders now make in the purchase of goods, and who, in spite of their most careful inspection, are often taken in, and have all their vigilance and precaution set at nought by a regular system of fraud, short weight and measure, and adulterations of innumerable kinds. Besides having been defrauded in a foreign country, private traders have no redress; but if the commerce were carried on by the Government of a country, the

whole power of the nation could be brought to bear upon the rectification of interchange on the part of foreign nations.

Concerning the amount of gold and silver that would still remain in the hands of the Government, after part had been set aside for the carrying on of foreign trade, we would point out the useful employment of the remainder (or even of the whole of the precious metal, in case the state should be able to establish commercial reciprocity with foreign nations without the interchange of money) in the manufacture of useful plate. Silver spoons and silver forks might then come into common use, silver candlesticks might replace brass and tin ones, and elegant golden and silver vases for fruit and flowers, might be seen to adorn the dining tables of the Associated Home.

Gold and silver will, in all these instances, not only serve as an ornament for artistic display, but they will also cause a great saving of labour in cleaning.

When the beauty of the new social system becomes apparent to all, and when a universal conviction of the feasability of its introduction gains ground by a scientific treatment of the social problem, the very possessors of money themselves will hasten with joy to deposit their gold and silver in the national vaults appropriated for the reception of precious metals; and these very men will with alacrity consign their bank-notes, check-books, bills of exchange, and shares to the flames!

CHAPTER XXVI.—RESTRICTION OF ISOLATED HOMES AND REGULATIONS OF SEXUAL UNIONS.

THE exclusiveness of the present isolated households is to be superseded to a great extent by the development of the Associated Home and facilities of social intercourse.

The ideal of the Associated Home is a large square building not unlike Somerset House or Buckingham Palace; with four mighty wings, several stories high, inclosing a spacious court-yard, with fountain and flower-beds. This noble mansion, to be inhabited by several thousand persons, will contain not only the dormitories and dwelling apartments of the inmates, but also several large dining halls, assembly rooms, libraries, reading rooms, bath rooms, a spacious kitchen, and a common heating

apparatus, from which all the apartments of this large building will be heated.

The dwelling apartments and dormitories will be ranged in three large divisions, separated from each other, and situated in different wings, or stories, of the building. One of these three divisions will contain the apartments of the united sexes, and the other two the dormitories and dressing-rooms of the adult single persons,—males and females occupying separate ranges of apartments in separate divisions of the edifice. This proposed separation of the sexes amongst the grown-up single men and women will be greatly conducive to chastity, and will in no way interfere with their frequent meeting in the public rooms of the Associated Home, in the spacious court-yard which it incloses, and in the gardens that surround it. The meeting of the sexes will in the future social state also be facilitated in the national workshops, storerooms, and in many occupations in which the work required is compatible with the bodily and mental ability of both sexes.*

The author exults the more in his idea of the separation of the sexes of single people, for he can testify that the system is already in actual operation in the “*Cité Ouvrière*” which the benevolent manufacturers of Mulhouse, in Elsass, built for their numerous workpeople; of whom the single men and women occupy separate quarters and divisions of this interesting working-man’s town, with the greatest benefit to public and domestic morality.

In the present isolated state of our homes, morality and decency are too often exposed to serious evils by the facility it affords to sexual intercourse even at a premature age; but we will find a wise protection from these inconveniences under the new arrangement—the separation of the sexes—in the Associated Home.

The palatial proportions and dimensions of the new social residence are eminently adapted for this separated location of the people. Its ground-floor being occupied by the public

* “As males and females dwell under the same roof, and eat together in common at the same table, and none possess anything whatever in private, they will always be together; and as they mingle in the gynmastic yards and in all their other occupations, they will be led by innate necessity to mutual intimacies.”—PLATO.

rooms, dining hall, kitchen, assembly rooms, and others, the first story could be assigned to the united sexes, the second to single women, and the third to single men.

The united sexes will have in their charge, and dwelling with them, their younger children under the age of three years, whilst all those above that age will be taken from their homes, and even from the common dwelling-house, and sent to the national educational establishments, where they will be brought up and taught with all the care and all the means the nation has at its command.

But as no such model social residences answering all the purposes and requirements of an ideal Associated Home, are at present in existence, and as all the combined labour of the whole of the building trades would not suffice to erect at once the required number of these buildings, although the construction of some could immediately be proceeded with—for instance, in Hyde Park—the proposed dislocation of the people would have to be effected by the temporary use of the buildings that are now in existence. With respect to this necessity, we may rejoice at the happy incident which the fitness of many of the present private and public buildings offers for the location of the people in large numbers, and under the same roof. And it is especially England which of all countries is the most suitable for this temporary erection of Associated Homes; for in no country are there more spacious mansions (Northumberland House,* for instance, contains as many as 140 rooms), hotels, private residences, splendid rows of houses, large and beautiful squares,—all eminently fitted for the temporary establishment of Associated Homes. Indeed, some of the magnificent squares of London offer the nearest approach to the ideal building of an Associated Home. The four sides of the square will answer to the four wings of the ideal edifice, and the equal height of the windows, stories, and roofs of the houses will be another similarity to the new social palace. The rooms of the ground-floor of several adjacent houses in these squares could easily be converted into public dining and assembly rooms, by effecting communication with doors and openings through the partition

* This house has been just removed, and, in furtherance of communistic principles—that is, the right of the individual—is not to stand in the way of the public advantage.

walls. The same might, to some extent, be done with the basements, and if similar communication by breaking through the partition walls were also effected in the upper stories, the now existing staircases of every house in the square would become superfluous, and one or two entrances to each story would suffice to admit all the inmates. The large hotels and spacious mansions of the rich would certainly be capable of accommodating, with very little alterations, another great number of people. There might, perhaps, arise some difficulty in allotting separate dormitories for the united and separated sexes; but it will, even in these temporary dwellings, be possible to apply the principle of separation to any extent.

No great difficulty will, however, be met with in the conversion of squares into Associated Homes. Every square the four sides of which consist of uninterrupted rows of houses, will have one of its sides occupied by the united sexes, whilst another side will be taken possession of by single women, and a third by single men. The fourth side might contain the public dining and assembly rooms, the kitchen and its necessary store-rooms.

In many other localities it will become necessary to house the united and separated sexes in different streets or separate buildings. Many of the present squares will also be well adapted for the use of national and industrial schools. The square, or oblong piece of land now generally laid out as a small park or garden, surrounded by four rows of houses, will serve as play-ground; one side of the square will contain the schoolrooms, another the industrial workshops, in which trades and handicrafts will be taught, and the two remaining sides will be used for the pupils' dormitories.

The regulation for the separation of sexes will be strictly applied to all schools. The girls' and boys' educational establishments will not only be situated in different buildings, but also at some distance from each other, in different squares and localities; and most of them will be placed in elevated and healthy country places.

The sexes in the Associated Home, however, although sleeping in separate apartments and separate wings or stories of the building, will, nevertheless, enjoy frequent and daily intercourse at the common dining table, and in the public garden, theatre, reading and lecture rooms; and, in order to make this

intercourse as varied as possible, a regulation will be introduced, by which all single men and women shall become accustomed to take their seats side by side with each other at their meals, so that every man has a woman as his neighbour at the public table. Unrestricted freedom should be permitted for the selection or change of these partners, and those who are undecided or careless to make a choice, will sit down on any seats that may be vacant; of which every alternate one will be a woman's chair, easily distinguishable by some peculiar form, size, or inscription. From a sense of courtesy the young men will leave the choice of partners at table to the young women.

Through this public intercourse between the sexes many opportunities will be given to each young man and woman of contracting those acquaintances that will, ultimately, end in the legitimate union of the sexes in married life.

The author rejoices in the prospect of the great amount of happiness that then will be realized, in comparison with the suffering and the silent longing which young men and women have now to endure by having all kinds of impediments put into their way of meeting each other; as is the case, for instance, with female servants, who are allowed a holiday only once a month. In an improved state of society, the union of the sexes will, however, not only be facilitated by a frequent intercourse and conversation during the time of the public meals, during the walks in the public gardens, during the participation in public festivities and excursions, during visits to museums, lectures, and theatres; but it will also be most powerfully promoted by the removal of all those obstacles that in the present state of society are put in the way of matrimonial alliances by property, wealth, birth, and class influence. It is lamentable to contemplate how many young men and women are now forced to live in a state of celibacy, because they have not the means of furnishing a comfortable house or apartments; and how many marriageable young ladies and gentlemen of the wealthier classes are there not who pine away the finest days and years of their womanhood and manhood in the expectation of a union that will increase property, enlarge estates, match wealth with wealth, confer title and nobility from one partner to the other, and be in all respects conformable to the station of life on both sides of the

marriage contractors.* We can only refer, with a deep feeling of commiseration and pity to the great number of marriageable persons, of both sexes, who in this wealthy country of England, are living in a forced state of celibacy. The census of 1861 returned 1,500,000 spinsters; of whom 643,000 were of the age from 20 to 25 years; 307,000 from 25 to 30 years; and 109,000 from 30 to 35 years. Equally great was the number of bachelors, namely, 1,400,000, of whom there were 1,200,000 from 20 to 40 years of age. The census further adduces the following proportion: that between the ages of 20 and 40 of 100 women, 39 are spinsters; and that of women of the age of 15 to 55, about three millions are married, or otherwise to the same extent as married women bearing children, and that one million are living in a state of celibacy.

Surely these are facts that cast the gravest blame upon the present social influences by which so many men and women are hindered and deterred from entering into that connection with each other which nature at their prime period of life demands so powerfully, and the compulsory evasion of which, frequently, disturbs the health of the body and the serenity of the mind. Great will, therefore, be the blessing that the new social arrangement will bestow upon all those unhappy persons who now endure the torments of the forced celibate; for from the very first day of the subversion of the present social order, all these 1,200,000 spinsters and 1,200,000 bachelors will have every facility accorded and afforded for effecting the immediate conclusion of happy sexual unions. The state will have comfortable apartments provided for them; their wedding outfits, their bridal dresses will be drawn from the national wardrobes and magazines, and the jewels they wish to wear on the wedding-day will be lent to them from the national treasury; and after the conclusion of the wedding festivities which the state had arranged for the married pair, they will in future take their seats in that public dining hall and at the dining table which are designed for the meals of the

* "As the most beautiful and marvellous maidens were announced for literal sale by auction in Assyria, are not also the souls of our most beautiful and marvellous maidens announced annually for sale by auction in Paris and London, in a spiritual manner, for the spiritual advantages of position in society?"—JOHN RUSKIN.

married persons, and will also occupy those apartments intended for the united sexes. And furthermore, if any sexual union contracted under the new social custom should prove an unhappy one, there will be facilities of separation; for the state having declared the freedom of woman as well as of man, in all their social relations, either party for itself, or both conjointly, will be permitted to dissolve the union; and this may be done the easier as all children from their third year will be placed into national boarding-schools, where they will be taken care of by the state.

These arrangements are not only conformable to the principle laid down by Baron von Humboldt—"that marriage having the peculiarity that its objects are frustrated unless the feelings of both the parties are in harmony with it, should require nothing more than the declared will of either party to dissolve it;" * but they remove also Stuart Mill's objection to the dissolution of marriage on account of the disruption of obligations to third parties.

The freedom of dissolution being extended to all, and marriage as a religious obligation and indissoluble union being entirely abolished, and the new sexual compacts being placed under the most favourable circumstances, in which the encumbrance of children and the care of property and large households are removed from their hands, and where man and woman, as separate servants of the state, are entirely independent of each other for the support of their material subsistence,—the attainment of the greatest amount of happiness will be rendered possible for every pair of the united sexes.

In contrasting the present unhappy state of matrimony with the happy prospect of amelioration in view, John Stuart Mill says:—"The example afforded, and the education given to the sentiments, by laying the foundation of domestic existence upon a relation contradictory to the first principles of social justice (liberty and equality), must, from the very nature of man, have a perverting influence of such magnitude, that it is hardly possible with our present experience to raise our imagination to the conception of so great a change for the better as would be made by its removal."

* "The Sphere and Duties of Government." From the German of Baron von Humboldt.

† "On Liberty," by Stuart Mill.

It is obvious that the sexual unions surrounded by these favourable circumstances will be less liable to disruption, and that they will prove more indissoluble than they have hitherto been under the obligation of the most sacred religious vows. The social harmony will then no longer be disturbed by those violent scenes and quarrels, fights, assaults in the shape of wife-beating, and even murders of wives by their husbands, of husbands by their wives, which are now of daily occurrence in the old social state.

In proposing the abolition of the indissoluble marriage tie, and in advocating its replacement by the absolute freedom of sexual unions, the author had only to escape from a happy dilemma; for if indissoluble marriage is natural, he has made it the more so by the removal of all disturbing elements, and if it is unnatural, he was quite justified in abolishing it, because to counteract nature in this respect would be as puerile as an attempted suspension of any of its immutable laws.

Other reforms and regulations will likewise act in favour of happy natural unions by promoting the observance of physiological laws; and amongst these will be an arrangement for checking all premature excitement and exhaustion of the sexual organs and genial powers at an age when the body has not yet attained its full development. The disregard of this natural law is but too common in the present state of society, and is to be observed not only in the numerous cases of too early marriages,* but also in other modes of premature sexual intercourse, highly injurious to health and morality.

The ravages committed by the early indulgence in sexual intercourse, to which the isolated home and the promiscuous living together of the sexes offers now so great an opportunity, will, in the new social order, be most effectually stopped by all grown-up boys and girls being boarded and lodged in separate educational establishments, with no possible intercourse between the sexes, unless under the eyes of governors and governesses; and this regulation will be strictly adhered to up to the age when puberty sets in by the natural development of the body, and without having its functions unnaturally and prematurely excited.

* "The women of the Utopians are not married before eighteen, nor their men before twenty-two."—Sir THOMAS MOORE.

By the removal of all boys and girls to national boarding schools, the objects for criminal assaults and incest will be removed from the reach of those vile offenders who now figure too often at the bars of criminal law courts.

In order to facilitate the legitimate union of the sexes when they have arrived at the age of puberty, and have reached that period of their life in which generation will be productive of the healthiest offspring, the new social state will not only give full permission to sexual intercourse, but will introduce arrangements for the public and private meeting of the sexes as soon as they have left the educational establishments where they were till then confined.*

Under the influence of all the favourable circumstances which the new social state will create before and after the conclusion of sexual unions, they will be more likely to continue in their self-chosen alliances. Those, however, who should feel inclined to separate afterwards, can again form new unions with others who have similarly dissolved their contract, but they will not be allowed to conclude sexual unions with the virgins or young men who have just attained the age of puberty, and have been taken out from the boarding schools in order to form their first sexual unions, and to have the privilege and preference of entering sexual intercourse when there exists little or no disparity in age and bodily vigour. Those who have been already married once may find this arrangement annoying, but they must consider that they have already enjoyed the same privilege, and that depriving others of it would be an injustice incompatible with the sacred principle of equality. However, there are even exceptions imaginable to the above rule, as, for instance, in the case of a surplus number of maidens over young men, and in the case of premature death of one of the partners of a recently concluded union.

The proposal of the meeting of the sexes at a period of their life when there is little or no disparity of age, will give great satisfaction; for it is sure to become an efficacious means of preventing old, effeminate men from cohabiting with young women, to which the present matrimonial law gives its cruel sanction, and society its tacit consent.

* Plato, in his "Republic," mentions festivals, legally established, in which the brides and bridegrooms shall be drawn together.

CHAPTER XXVII.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ECONOMICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE.

THE principles upon which the arrangements for the economical distribution of produce are to be based, will chiefly relate to the means of saving space and time. In most cases both of these two advantages will be gained. A proof of this double advantage will be afforded by the future social system in the arrangement for the distribution of tea from the national tea stores to the Associated Homes. In this case space will be economized by a few large rooms serving the purpose of storing the tea, instead of depositing it in the innumerable shops of small grocers; and time will be saved by the distribution of tea in large canisters, which will be sent directly from the national store-rooms to the Associated Homes, where the inmates will have a sufficient quantity at hand for a month or two. Similar arrangements will economize the distribution of all articles of grocery and consumption. The present petty shops of the retail dealers may then be closed.

The author anticipates, with great confidence, that, when convinced of the rational superiority of the new social order, the very shopkeepers themselves will assiduously assist in the clearing out of their shops, and help in depositing their goods and wares in the national storehouses.

In order to save the utmost amount of time in the distribution of produce, the store-rooms for articles of consumption, and especially of grocery, will be situated in the immediate vicinity of the Associated Homes, or even in the interior of the social palace, and those goods that are to serve as materials for production will lie in the immediate neighbourhood, or on the premises of the national workshops, where they will be at hand whenever they are wanted. Thus the building of the national workshops for shoemaking will be contiguous to the store house containing leather, and the tailors' workshops will be near the cloth halls, or both workshop and store-room will be under one and the same roof.

As soon as the time for the clearing out of the present shops and warehouses arrives, the principle of the contiguity of work and materials must at once be carried out. If, for instance, a

certain square or street were selected for the workshops of the tailors, the same square or street would also have some of its houses converted into store-rooms for cloth, buttons, and other materials used in tailoring, whilst others might serve the purpose of receiving the finished garments.

The concentration of the distribution of produce, and the consequent closing of all the shops and warehouses of the present wholesale and retail dealers, will, moreover, place at the disposal of the people a great number of premises, houses, and buildings, the space of which may be utilised for national workshops, or converted into Associated Homes and public store-houses.

By the closing of all private shops and warehouses a great quantity of gas will also be saved; for in almost all the national store-rooms the distribution of produce will take place by daylight, and many of them will, perhaps, remain closed for days and weeks together. The closing of private trading establishments, in which so much gas is now used, will thus not only obviate this stupid waste, but will at the same time save an immense amount of labour in the manufacture of gas, in coal-mining, and coal-heaving.

The saving of gas and candles will be further greatly increased by the regulation of the hours of labour and occupation being adapted to the duration of the natural daylight, the night being allotted for the purpose of repose.

Nothing seems more unnatural than the manner in which the inhabitants of large European cities convert night into day and day into night, by having their shops and warehouses lit up by glaring gaslights till midnight, and by rising from their beds when the sun almost stands in the zenith. They scarcely ever witness, and therefore cannot enjoy, the beauty of the brilliant sunrise. They permit the solemn quietude of the night to be disturbed by the deafening noise and incongruous bustle of street traffic, and, in addition to this, they have their shops and streets lit up with a hideous glare of light, which, throwing its reflex into the very sky, dispels the majestic and silent darkness of the night, so absolutely necessary, and so inviting, for a sound and invigorating sleep.

The waste of gas that takes place in the great city of London can best be seen on a dark night, and when the clouds

descend low. The light emitted by the many millions of gas-lamps in streets, in shops, and on the trucks and stands of costermongers, is then cast in such flaming masses on the dark sky, that it gives the reflex of a large conflagration extending for many miles.—such as the burning of Babylon by Sardanapalus may have presented to its inhabitants.

This gigantic waste of gas would even seem strange if the Chinese or Hottentots lighted their towns in a similar wasteful manner; but that the civilized and highly intelligent Europeans should not yet have perceived the lamentable stupidity that adheres to their system of lighting streets and shops, is inexplicable.

We yearn for the time when all this will be changed, when the day will again be appointed for work, and the night for repose, and when the darkness of the night will again triumphantly reign in place of the glare of gaslights in shops and streets.

That no street-lamps will be lit in the towns of the new social state is evident from the fact that neither traffic nor pedestrians, nor security will require the burning of any such lights.

The streets, with all their shops closed, will at first present a strange and somewhat deserted aspect in comparison to the gaily and sumptuously arrayed shop-windows and show-rooms which now so universally attract, not only the admiration and curiosity of the passers by, but are also eminently successful in awaking the purchasing propensities of customers.

The disappearance of the animating scene of sightseers and eager customers besieging the gaily dressed shop-windows will, however, have a beneficial effect in another direction. People will lay a much greater value on all articles that combine ornament with usefulness, when they do not see them exhibited to their eyes long time before they can get possession of them, and consequently, the members of the new social state will find themselves agreeably surprised by the reception of every article they draw from the national store-rooms.

The quietness of the streets will, even during the day, be greatly increased by the almost total cessation of the traffic now caused by the requirements of wholesale and retail dealers and their customers. The unloading of goods at the door of

every small shop, the redistribution from these shops by means of vans and carts, either drawn by horses or men, will become a thing of the past; and with this great decrease of the traffic the danger of being crushed to death under the wheels of the modern Jaggerauth will no longer be the sad and common spectacle of our streets.* Some solitary vehicle will, in the future, be seen slowly emerging from the national emporiums of raw materials, or from the store-houses of ready-made goods and articles of consumption; but there will be so few of them that street accidents will be reduced to a minimum. The danger of street accidents will also greatly diminish in consequence of the total disappearance of all private carriages, and of parties riding on horseback; for all these indulgences in luxury, the ultimate result of which is a far-spreading waste of labour, will find no permission to exist in a well-ordered state of society.

In the new social community the hideous cry of the costermonger, his deafening ringing of bells and persistent shaking of rattles, will no more torment our ears; the uncalled-for visits of the itinerant dealer in small wares will cease, and the importunities of the pedlar and commercial traveller will no more trespass upon our time and patience.

By the clearance of all shops and warehouses, a great quantity of goods will immediately become available for distribution, by which the whole nation will at once greatly benefit.†

* The following were the street accidents during 1872 :—

NAME OF TOWN.	KILLED.	INJURED.
London	139	2,961
Birmingham	8	26
Leeds	10	35
Liverpool	23	486
Manchester	18	231
Sheffield	9	30
Dublin	23	227
Glasgow	18	156
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 248	<hr/> 3,152

† “A GOOD TIME COMING.—It is understood that the most advanced section of the Ultra Liberals, consisting of the advocates of social progress to the utmost extent, and in particular to the extent of establishing the community of property, contemplate holding a torchlight demonstration

Wearing apparel of all kinds—coats, trousers, waistcoats, for men ; and dresses and petticoats for women ; shoes, hats, shirts, socks and stockings, neckties, towels, handkerchiefs, watches, etc.—will probably be found in such quantities, that, even after satisfying all just wants, there would finally remain a surplus. Of men's, women's, and children's clothes, shirts, shoes, etc., so much is certainly to be found as will suffice to clothe, most comfortably, every man, woman, and child who is now destitute of those comforts. Rags and poverty will then disappear as by enchantment, and every individual will at once be decently clad, sufficiently fed, and comfortably lodged. And the whole diffusion of these universal benefits will have arisen from the simple expedient of emptying the shops and warehouses in which goods fit for use have been stored up for years.

The waste that now is caused by goods becoming soiled, or otherwise damaged in private shops and warehouses, because they are not saleable in time, is a double disadvantage ; for not only is the labour and material employed in their production lost, but society sustains another serious evil by being deprived of the use of necessary and ready-made articles of produce. This double waste will, however, be entirely obviated in the future, because it will lie in the power of the new social state to exactly proportion the supply from its manufactories and workshops to the requirements of the nation.

in Trafalgar Square, to demand the Abolition of Purchase in its universal sense, so as to be made applicable to commodities, in order that all persons in want of any may be enabled to help themselves."—*Punch*, Nov. 15th, 1873.

SECTION II.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR.

"All human interests, combined human endeavours, and social growth in this world, have, at a certain stage of their development, required organizing ; and work, the grandest of human interests, does now require it."—CARLYLE.

IN order to give a comprehensive description of the new organization of labour, the author will have to review labour in a variety of aspects. In examining its great subdivisions, he will, in every instance, first consider the amount of labour required under the present system, and then indicate the reductions that will become practicable in the new organization.

The amount of labour performed in all the great sections of occupations and employments into which society is at present divided, can be exactly ascertained by the returns of the occupations of the twenty millions of people who, according to the census of 1861, inhabited England and Wales.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—DOMESTIC LABOUR.

OF the 20,000,000, a class of persons, returned as belonging to the domestic order, will first be subjected to an analysis, in order to ascertain its real participation in domestic labour, and in how far it is superfluous, and therefore reducible.

The number returned under this class is surprisingly high, amounting to not less than 10,000,000 persons, including one-third of the male and two-thirds of the female population. These 10,000,000 persons, of whom the greater number is

more or less performing domestic labour, will, moreover, receive a not inconsiderable addition in the number of 1,318,000 wives who in the census are returned as engaged in other occupations, but who, nevertheless, are, to some extent, also engaged in domestic labour, either before they go to their usual work, or after they have returned from it.

Of all the persons forming the sub-orders of the domestic class, those known as domestic servants will first be considered. They number 1,127,000 persons, of whom the greater part are females, and include the following classes of servants :—

General servants	700,000
Housemaids	102,000
Cooks	77,000
Nurses	67,000
Housekeepers	66,000
Charwomen	65,000
Grooms	21,000
Gardeners	14,000
Coachmen	11,000
Laundry-maids	4,000
Total	1,127,000

In calculating the amount of labour performed by this grand-total of persons, regard must be paid to the nature of domestic labour—to its irregularity, its frequent intercession and consequent cessation, and other incidents by which momentary leisure is afforded to those engaged in it. This temporary cessation of domestic labour, which in every day's work amounts at least to an hour or two, becomes at certain periods of the year a lasting stagnation, and leads to a most scandalous practice indulged in by those servants who are left to guard the mansions of the rich, when the family have set out travelling or visiting watering-places. "Strange things," says the *Daily News*, in one of its leading articles, "are represented to occur in the shut-up mansions of Belgravia and Mayfair where their owners are away in the summer or autumn. There the farce of 'High Life Below Stairs' is said to be realized, and the domestics left to watch the premises enter into games of frolic

and dissipation, without even confining their movements to the kitchen or servants' hall."

What lamentable contrast does this idle and dissipating mode of life not form to the continuous labour of the mechanic and factory operative, who frequently is bound to fixed hours of work by the infliction of fines he has to pay for every minute's loss of time, and who, with two or three holidays excepted, is incessantly occupied in heavy, monotonous, unhealthy, and often dangerous work all the year round !

This inequality in the distribution of labour is a revolting injustice, and claims in the highest degree the attention of the social reformer. It must, however, be confessed that the condition of even those domestic servants who enjoy a great many comforts, who eat from the prime joints that come from their master's table, who are comfortably dressed in splendid livery cloth, and who for whole seasons in the year can enjoy themselves during their master's absence, is for all that not a very enviable one ; for frequently they have to put up with the caprices and bad tempers of their masters and mistresses, and to submit not unfrequently, in the most abject manner, to tyrannical treatment and even assaults, for fear of losing their places. How many tears do poor servant girls shed at the abusing, insulting, and provoking language their mistresses often use for the least oversight or neglect committed by their subordinates ! Surely domestic labour has also its dark sides ! *

The author's proposal would, however, bring extensive relief to all classes of domestic servants. The number of all persons

* At the meeting of the British Association, at Bradford, 1873, Mrs. King read a paper in which she described servants as in slavery, and she insisted on their right to enjoy the society of men. The remedy she proposed was that the home of the employer should not also be the home of the employed, and to substitute for isolated homes and separate establishments confederate homes and co-operative housekeeping. But instead of one unfortunate set of women drudging over long hours of toil, the hours of labour should be divided and distributed to different workers : one set coming at, say, six in the morning, and remaining till one or two o'clock ; a second set remaining till nine or ten o'clock. The present system of domestic servitude in isolated houses was a failure, and with the direction in which society was now tending, the failure was likely to prove more conspicuous.

who now perform the greater part of domestic labour would in the new social order experience an immense reduction, and whole sub-divisions of their class would become entirely and for ever extinct. Into this category would fall the whole number of 224,000 servants taxed by the Inland Revenue Department; for these represent chiefly those who administer to luxury,—which is the more deplorable, because this large number consists exclusively of males, for female servants are not taxed by the Government. But as luxury in all its forms will be suppressed, those who indulge in it, and those who administer to it, will both be driven from their unnatural conditions of life. Of the 11,000 coachmen, 21,000 grooms, 14,000 gardeners, 66,000 housekeepers, 67,000 nurses, and of the great number of butlers, pages, footmen, and valets, not a vestige will remain; and the suppression of these classes will so much increase the number of useful workers, whose hours of labour will thus become proportionately limited.

In the new social state, all mothers will nurse their own children, everyone will make his own bed, clean his own shoes, and all those who are now masters and mistresses will have to attend similarly to their own persons, besides participating in domestic labour, either individually or in gangs and relays.* The cleaning, sweeping, and scouring of rooms, staircases, and housesteps is a kind of domestic labour suited for work by shifts and gangs of persons.

Domestic labour is also, by its nature, more congenial to women than to men; and the author intends to lessen the heavy work which many women have now to perform in factories and various trades—of whom the total number of wives and widows alone amounts to 1,318,000 persons—by allotting to them all the lighter work, and especially that of a domestic kind. The total number of persons returned by the census of 1861 as belonging to the domestic class, includes also those trades and occupations which are engaged in entertaining others, and performing various personal services. The persons

* "There would be no great hardship if all men were compelled to wait on themselves. I am not even sure that the educated classes would not be far happier if they had to wait on themselves; for a mechanical occupation during a certain number of hours every day, would be of great relief to our over-laboured nervous system."—SARGANT.

of this kind are Hotel-keepers, Inn-keepers, Publicans, Lodging-house and Coffee-house-keepers; in all, 159,000 persons, and 35,000 Inn-servants. The author will take these into consideration in a subsequent chapter.

In calculating the amount of labour performed by the 1,127,000 persons enumerated above as domestic servants, a large deduction in the number of working days during which they are in service all the year through, will have to be made; partly because of the intermittent nature of the work done, and partly because of the total cessation of the same in the seasons when families leave their town or country residences for a prolonged period of the year. The labour of a mechanic, factory operative, or skilled artizan, is generally estimated at 300 working-days a year; but the duration of domestic labour will in comparison fall far short of this number, and may more accurately be put down at 200,—which indicates a loss of 100 working days for each individual, or for the whole number of 1,127,000 domestic servants of 112,700,000 working days; whereas their united labour should amount to 338,100,000 working days, if performed according to the full standard of the mechanic and skilled artizan. To the 112,700,000 days of leisure which the domestic servants spend every year in idleness must further be added the superfluity of the whole of that labour which administers unto luxury, and which in a well-organized state of society will be totally dispensed with. The labour of 12,000 coachmen, 21,000 grooms and 67,000 nurses, becoming superfluous in the new social state; and the work of 102,000 house and chamber-maids becoming reduced a hundred fold, by all persons being obliged to make their own beds and doing various other domestic work now done by chamber-maids; and the work of 77,000 cooks being done in the Associated Home by one-tenth of the number; and of 700,000 general servants only the hundredth part being required, it becomes finally an interesting question what the real amount of saving will be. This the following table will show:—

CLASS OF SERVANTS.	PRESENT AMOUNT OF WORKING DAYS.	FUTURE AMOUNT OF WORKING DAYS.
General servants . . .	140,000,000	1,400,000
Housemaids . . .	20,400,000	204,000
Cooks	15,400,000	1,400,000
Nurses	13,400,000	nil.
Housekeepers . . .	13,200,000	nil.
Charwomen . . .	13,000,000	13,000,000
Grooms . . .	4,200,000	nil.
Gardeners . . .	2,800,000	2,800,000
Coachmen . . .	2,200,000	nil.
Laundrymaids . . .	800,000	800,000
 Totals . . .	 225,400,000	 19,604,000

Comparing these two totals, it is found that the saving effected amounts to the enormous sum of 215,796,000 working days.

The real domestic servants are, however, not the only persons who, under the old social system, are engaged in domestic labour; but there are besides them a great number of other persons of the domestic class who perform, more or less, work at home. They are, according to the census, the following:—

Wives at home	2,650,000
Widows at home	260,000
Daughters, sisters, nieces at home . . .	2,200,000
 Total	 5,110,000

This great total contains many persons who do very little or no domestic work at all. Of this kind are the rich and wealthy, who are able to keep servants. If 511,000 persons, or the tenth part of the above total number, are taken as representing those who have their work done by servants, they may at once be set aside as idle waste; and the remainder, consisting of 4,599,000 persons, including the wives of a great number of the working classes and many of the lower middle classes, may be considered as assisting more or less in domestic labour, and may be rated at 100 working days per annum,

which gives a sum of 459,900,000 working days. The economical arrangements of the Associated Home will, however, only require the tenth part of this work, amounting to 4,599,000 working days per year.

The wives of inn-keepers, butchers, and shoemakers are given in the census as numbering 400,000. The domestic labour of these persons is certainly greater than that of the 2,650,000 wives returned as of no occupation, if taken individually, and cannot be fixed at less than 200 working days per year; giving a total of 80,000,000 working days, which under new regulations will decidedly fall to 800,000.

Of the 1,318,000 wives and widows who in the census are returned as not at home, but engaged in industrial occupations, part of their time is, nevertheless, employed in domestic labour, and if only set down at twenty days annually per individual, it will give a total of 26,360,000 working days, which the new organization of labour is sure to reduce to 2,636,000.

Of children and scholars at home, the census returns 1,710,000. Of these many have to perform domestic labour, especially the elder girls in nursing the younger children.* The domestic labour performed by children cannot be estimated at more than five days per annum for each child, which will produce an aggregate sum of 8,550,000 working days.

The domestic labour performed by children under the new social regulations will comprise little more than the making of their own beds, cleaning their shoes, and sweeping the dormitories, schoolrooms, dining and play-rooms, of the national establishments,† where all children from three years upwards will be confined, and where their parents can no more requisition their services for nursing babies, scouring floors, and going on errands.

A similar duty of participating in the performance of domestic labour will be required from the 2,600,000 scholars who

* The reprehensible practice of putting into the arms of little girls heavy children very often produces unevenness of the shoulders and distortion of the spine; and it is to be hoped that these burdens will be removed from the tender shoulders of the young, and placed into the stout arms of adult women, who in the future social state will have plenty of time to nurse their own and other children.

† The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon states that at Stockwell Orphanage the boys have to make their own beds, scrub the floors, and black shoes.

now are either in boarding schools or other educational establishments, and whose present occupation in this branch of labour is almost nil.

The census of 1861 returns the total of all children living between the ages of five to fifteen as amounting to 4,432,000; being composed of 2,600,000 scholars, 1,194,000 children at home, and 638,000 occupied in work. The whole of these children will in the future social state be placed in national boarding-schools, where they will be taught in all branches of learning, as well as in the various trades and manufactures, and where they will also be obliged to participate in all the domestic labour requisite for their comfort, for the cleanliness of their own persons as well as of the place they inhabit.

The following table gives a summary statement of the amount of domestic labour performed in the various orders of the domestic class belonging to the old social state:—

SUMMARY TABLE.

ORDER.	NUMBER OF PERSONS.	NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS PER ANNUM.
Domestic servants . . .	1,127,000 . .	225,400,000
Wives, widows, daughters, sisters at home . . .	4,599,000 . .	459,900,000
Wives otherwise employed	1,318,000 . .	26,360,000
Children at home . . .	1,710,000 . .	8,550,000
Innkeepers', butchers', shoe- makers' wives . . .	400,000 . .	80,000,000
Totals . . .	9,154,000 . .	800,210,000

From these two grand totals it is seen that 800,000,000 working days are annually spent in domestic labour by 9,000,000 persons, at the rate of 88 working days on an average per individual.

It may, however, safely be assumed that under the influence of the Associated Home and of other economical arrangements, the time spent in domestic labour by each individual will not exceed ten working days per annum, which for 16,000,000 people (4,000,000 being deducted from the 20,000,000 for the very young children) would only amount to 160,000,000 work-

ing days, or only one-fifth part of the amount now performed. This great reduction in domestic labour will be chiefly owing to the institution of the Associated Home, and is nowhere to be better demonstrated than in the daily preparation of food as carried on in the present and as economized in the future state of society. In the Associated Home, five cooks will, with the greatest ease, be able to cook for 1,000 persons; and at this rate it will only require 100,000 cooks to prepare food for the whole of 20,000,000 people, whereas the present isolated homes want for the same purpose the labour of 77,000 professional cooks, and the cooking done by at least 2,000,000 of the 3,488,000 housewives.

CHAPTER XXIX.—AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

THIS kind of labour will, in all countries, and under all social systems, be the principal source of production from which the people obtain their means of subsistence. Although nearly all kinds of agricultural operations are at present carried on in a very economic and even scientific manner, by which the greatest amount of produce is secured with the least employment of labour, and with the most extensive use of machinery, there are, notwithstanding, circumstances connected with the existing system of land tenure in this country, which detract a great deal from the excellency of the achievements in modern agriculture.

The present system, which employs too small a number of agricultural labourers, permits at the same time too large a number of epiphytes to live, directly or indirectly, upon the work of the real agricultural operatives.

In England these useless parasites are still very numerous; but in all neighbouring foreign countries they have either undergone a gradual process of extirpation, or have, as in France, been violently rooted out.

To these non-producers must first be reckoned the 30,000 landed proprietors, as returned by the census of 1861. But although this number, representing so many useless feeders

and idle members of the community, is a very large one, the enormity of this parasitical vegetation is, however, only brought to light in its terrible extent by multiplying the number of 30,000 by 10, which gives 300,000 ; that is, 30,000 landowners, with their servants and attendants, calculated at ten individuals per family, who live in a state of utter uselessness, and feed upon the fat of the land that others cultivate for them. This state of things becomes still more shocking when one considers that the number 30,000, as given in the census, does not nearly include all the landed proprietors ; for Lord Shaftesbury, a well-informed and truth-loving gentleman, maintains that 300,000 * would be a more exact estimate of their number, which, with only five members to a household—representing children, attendants, and servants—would swell the enormous figure of idle consumers to 1,500,000.

The English system of agricultural landlordism has, moreover, to be maintained by a staff of agents, of whom the following are the most numerous :—

Farm bailiffs	15,000
Gamekeepers	12,000
Gardeners	10,000
Lodgekeepers	3,000
 Total	 40,000

If calculated at only four persons per family, their total will represent 160,000 persons, and these added to the 1,500,000 of landlords and landholders, will still further increase the number of those who live upon the industry of others to the enormous figure of 1,660,000 ; which will thus reach, within a very small fraction, the total number of the real agricultural labourers set down by the census at 1,650,000.

The real useful work performed by the 1,650,000 agriculturists is shared by different classes of workers in the following proportions :—

* A parliamentary return states that there are in Scotland above 131,530 owners of land and heritages, possessing 18,946,694 acres, and the annual income from which is £18,698,804.

Agricultural labourers	1,000,000
Farmers and graziers	250,000
Indoor farm servants	204,000
Shepherds	26,000
Gardeners (not domestic)	76,000
Cultivators of fruit and garden stuff	81,000
Woodmen	10,000
Nurserymen	3,000
 Total	 1,650,000

This total number of agriculturists and agricultural labourers is an exceedingly small one, when compared with the actual extent of land under cultivation, which, including all grass lands, is generally set down at 30,000,000 acres.

According to this estimate of the extent of arable land, each agricultural labourer does, single handed, the gigantic work of cultivating thirty acres of land,—a marvellous performance, that, however, is easily explained by the fact that it is by the assistance of machinery and the use of improved agricultural implements he accomplishes his wonderful task.

A statement of the number of persons being located on the land and cultivating it in other countries, where they give to the agricultural districts a most luxuriant and animated appearance by the numerous farm homesteads of the peasant proprietors, and their villages full of joyful people, will at once explain the desolate and depopulated aspect of the country in England. In France, for instance, out of a population of 30,000,000 inhabitants, 24,000,000 are located on the land; whilst in England out of a population of 20,000,000, 18,000,000 are inhabitants of towns, and only 2,000,000 dwell in the country.

The employment of agricultural labourers being in many instances not permanent, but irregular, in England, and few farmers performing real hard work in the field or in the barn, although they are most instrumental in the superintendence and direction of agricultural operations, the amount of the whole work of 1,650,000 labourers and farmers can only be estimated at 200 working days per individual; which shows the total amount of labour to be 330,000,000 working days per

year. This grand total contains, however, a great amount of waste labour, chiefly owing to the fact that, even in those agricultural operations for which machinery has been invented and successfully introduced, handlabour is still performed to a large extent; and it is a great discredit to modern civilization that after having invented the steam plough, the drilling, reaping, and mowing machines, these marvellous contrivances which the inventive genius of the age presented to the husbandman, should stand idle, because the farmers have not the means or the pluck to make use of them.*

But although it is to be regretted, in the interest of the inventors and patentees of these machines, as well as an account of the loss of economical advantages to the farmers and to the public at large, that a more extensive use is not made of farming by mechanical and chemical means, it is, nevertheless, on the other hand, a lamentable fact, that even their partial employment has caused great injury to the once numerous class of agricultural labourers, who, by having become supplanted by machinery, have been driven from a healthy country life into the unhealthy back slums of large cities, or have been forced to take refuge in emigration which cast them into the virgin forests of America, where, after years of heavy labour, they at last find an abode and place of rest for the very short remainder of their disturbed and harassed lives. It is owing to this gradual introduction of machinery, that the number of agricultural labourers decreases at the annual rate of 8,000; and it demonstrates at the same time the existence of a capital defect in the present social organization which does not permit the introduction of improvements beneficial for the whole people, without injuring certain classes of the community.

How different will, in this respect, be the state of things in the new social system, when all hinderances to the universal application of machinery will be removed, when its evil effects will be neutralized, and when the benefits of inventions will be equally spread amongst all the members of the community, without injuring anyone.

* Mr. Laird asserts that the whole corn crop of Great Britain might be cut down in twelve days by 80,000 reaping machines. Only half that number is now in existence.

It is of little avail to propose, under the existing circumstances, the improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourers; for, being in daily fear of eviction by the effects of machinery and labour-saving modes of scientific farming, their very existence is at stake, and the praiseworthy ideas of those philanthropists who now endeavour to elevate the hard-worked, ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-clad tillers of the soil, may but too often see the object of their philanthropic vision to have vanished into nothingness. The greater number of agricultural labourers is doomed to non-existence upon the land where they were born, and which their fathers and forefathers had been tilling for generations past; where they lived in quiet simplicity and security until the mighty disturbers, the puffing steam-plough, the rattling drilling-machine, the whizzing thrashing-engine, and many other mechanical monsters, roused them from their pastoral somnolency, drove them from the land of their birth, and chased them in swarms of thousands and hundreds of thousands across the stormy Atlantic and into the impenetrable forests, unhealthy swamps, and endless prairies of America. O civilization! had Dante seen thy wrong-doings, he would have written another *Inferno*!

Such is the sad fate of all those who are overtaken by the destructive effects of machinery. Trades-unionism and co-operation even cannot save them when once brought under the wheels of the modern Juggernaut; for they can do nothing when the ravages of the evil created by labour-saving appliances have entirely removed the object of redemption. The question of bettering the condition of the people of Ireland lost much of its importance, since of eight million inhabitants nearly four million have been driven into exile by the consolidation of farms, and the introduction of mechanical implements.

The depopulation of the agricultural districts, and the consequent over-population of towns, is, however, in no respect more to be lamented than in its evil consequences on the sanitary condition of the people.

That country life and labour in the open field are most conducive to health, and to the sound development of the human frame, can unmistakeably be inferred from the sturdy appearance of the still remaining portion of the agricultural labourers,

although their food and dwelling are not of a kind that can powerfully assist at the growth and strengthening of their bodies, which, consequently, must draw their stamina, health, strength, and ruddy faces from the pure air they inhale and the invigorating work they perform. So great is still the height of their stature, and the manliness of their appearance, that these sons of the soil furnish the finest men to the army and police, and that they are in great numbers employed as railway porters, not only for their fine appearance, but also for the greater reliance that can be placed on their honesty and perseverance.

The sanitary advantages of agricultural labour, the almost daily occupation in the open air, the greater variety of labour, the quietness of the work, are all inducements that render agricultural pursuits eminently attractive. The various seasons of the year have even a deeper meaning for the countryman than for the dweller in the narrow streets and dark lanes of cities ; and the state of the weather and course of the heavenly bodies * will be observed with much keener attention and interest by the husbandman than by the townsman.

Dr. Nichols, in his " Manual of Morals," says :—" The basis-work of all society is agriculture and gardening. As food is the first necessity of life, the supply of an abundance of healthy, nutritious, and delicious food is the most important work, and therefore the most honourable. The culture of fruit was the first occupation of man, and it is still the most useful and the most delightful. It is natural and right that men should love the land, and enjoy the processes by which earth, water, air, and sunshine become vegetables, seeds, flowers, and fruit."

Considering the charm of country life, and the invigorating and healthy nature of agricultural labour, it is highly to be regretted that out of a population of 20,000,000 only about 2,000,000 should remain located on the land, and left in the full enjoyment of good health and long life.

The author will, however, be able to devise means by which the country, in all its beauty, shall again become the happy

* Christopher Arnold, a peasant of Sommerfeld, near Leipzig, was the first in observing the comets of 1683 and 1686. He also obtained great celebrity by his observation of the transit of Mercury over the sun's disk in 1690.

abode of a great many more people than there are now dwelling in it; and he will even render this increase of the country population compatible with the most extensive application of machinery for all kinds of agricultural operations, as well as with the modern system of high farming on large fields.

The agriculturist of the future social order will not only stay in the country for the mere purpose of engaging in agricultural labour, but his sojourn there will rather be of a recreative nature; his labour in the field will not be a continuous one, and its frequent cessation will give him plenty of opportunities for healthy rambles in the country, or for the useful employment of his time in various domestic, industrious, and scientific pursuits, especially when the weather should compel him to stay indoors.

In the country will also be situated the places of retreat for the aged, for the humane purpose of receiving as their inmates the 113,000 old men and women returned by the census of 1861 as being from 80 to 100 years old. The educational establishments and schools will likewise be spread all over the country, and all scholars placed in them will have, combined with their other branches of learning, agricultural instruction, not only theoretically in the schoolrooms, but also practically in the field. The number of young persons and children under 20 years of age is, according to the census, no less than 9,100,000; and when 1,710,000, representing those under five years, are deducted, there remains the still large number of 7,390,000, which would be the number of scholars in the new social state. This large number of persons will then not only acquire the necessary skill and knowledge of agricultural labour, but they will also be obliged to make it useful and productive for the benefit of the nation at large by freely and arduously participating in all kinds of farming labour. This will especially be required of all students from 10 to 20 years of age.* They will all be strictly kept not only to a theoret-

* Mr. Ruskin lately proposed to the undergraduates of Oxford University, who are now given up to the unproductive and unornamental amusements of cricket, boat-racing, and other frivolous pastimes, that they should devote their superfluous time and strength to the cause of labour and usefulness. His idea, to begin with, is that a band of undergraduates should provide themselves with spade, pick, and shovel, and set to work

cal study of agriculture, but also to its practical application in the field ; and, as the number thus available is not less than 4,000,000, the quantity of work done by them will be very considerable, and will in so far ease the labour of the adult agriculturists.

The author proposes, however, another great extension of the diffusion of enjoyment derived from the charm and healthy nature of country life. He suggests that the whole of the adult population, consisting of

6,147,000	persons of 20 to 40 years old.
3,500,000	" 40 to 60 "
1,378,000	" 60 to 80 "

shall in rotation pass through the charms of country life, and participate in the blessings of agricultural labour. Every individual of the grand total of these three ages, amounting together to 11,025,000 persons, will, according to his plan, pass the fifth part of his active life in the country ; which would occupy a period of twelve years, as the whole time of a man's real activity is sixty years, beginning with the age of twenty and ending with that of eighty. The twelve years thus allotted to the participation by every person in agricultural labour may be spent in six, four, three, or two intermittent periods, every one of them to begin with a time of probation or initiation. By this allotment of twelve years' stay in the country to each individual, 4,000,000 people out of 20,000,000 inhabitants will be located in the rural districts, and will give place to other 4,000,000 at intervals from six, four, three or two years, according to the voluntary adoption of any of these periods by each separate individual or family. The alternate transfer of 4,000,000 people into the country instead of the present number of 1,650,000 agriculturists will, however, not necessitate on their part an equally proportionate increase of agricultural labour ; on the contrary, the 4,000,000 will even have to do less labour in the fields than the 1,650,000 agricultural labourers are performing now. Moreover, it must be considered that the new agricultural population will consist of

at once to clear roads and beautify the country about Hinksey, so as to transform it into a neighbourhood suited to the loveliest town in England."

8,000,000 people, including 4,000,000 of adults from the ages of twenty to eighty, and 4,000,000 of scholars from the ages of ten to twenty. The presence of so many million people in the country will again fill with life and animation the present desolate and lonely regions of the agricultural districts, and their hills and dales will again resound with the cheers and merriment of a happy and contented peasantry. Their work will be light and of a recreative kind ; for not only will its burden be lessened by the great number who take part in it, but also by the extensive application of machinery to all agricultural operations. Ploughing, harrowing, drilling, reaping, mowing, and thrashing being everywhere done by machinery, the gigantic scale of those operations, and the enormous enlargements of the fields they will necessitate, must everywhere produce a reduction of irksome hand-labour.

Taking those vast proportions not only in the number and power of engines and implements employed, but also in the extent of the fields cultivated, agriculture will then be directed by some central authority, acting under the control of the ministry of agriculture.

The hand-labour required in the vast fields cultivated under the direction of the State will be drawn from the surrounding districts and neighbouring agricultural homesteads, the occupiers of which are simply labourers in the service of the State, and not managing farmers for themselves ; for they will neither own land nor take it on lease, nor will the entire direction and management of their holdings be put exclusively into their own hands.

The agricultural homesteads of the future social state will, however, be surrounded with extensive gardens, nurseries, hothouses, poultry yards, etc., and in these the agriculturist will find plenty of opportunities to exert both his physical and mental energies. The use of the spade in the garden will be a more invigorating exercise to his body than the walking behind the plough and the harrow, or plying the sythe and sickle,—work that will chiefly be executed by the steam-plough the reaping and mowing machine, with the addition of but little hand-labour.

The creation of extensive garden operations, where the spade will be the principal implement in use, and where the people

will probably cultivate not only useful garden stuff, but also a great area of fields for potatoes, peas, and beans, is a most admirable arrangement in a sanitary point of view; and the author, though counteracting economical laws by relegating to hand-labour what perhaps might be more advantageously assigned to machinery—as, for instance, the ploughing up of a potato-field—feels quite satisfied in introducing extensive spade-husbandry in order to provide healthy and invigorating hand-labour for the future agriculturists.

The cultivation of fruit and flowers in the orchards and gardens as well as in the hothouses, and the attendance to the poultry yard, will afford that kind of occupation which will agreeably diversify their more arduous work in the field and in the garden.

And when the state of the weather is such that field and garden labour must be abandoned for a time, the husbandman of the future will find useful occupation indoors in the industrial shed * of the farm homestead, either at a loom for weaving, a knitting frame, a turner's lathe, a joiner's bench, or other industrial pursuits which the State may think fit to combine with agriculture. This system of agriculture, which combines the cultivation of large fields by machinery with spade-husbandry and industrial occupation, is a most ingenious arrangement, of which every social reformer might be especially proud, and justly so; for this mixed system does not supplant men by machines to the destruction of the former; it is eminently beneficial in a sanitary point of view, and will

* Everywhere the beds in the cottages of the small landholders and fishermen of *Etretat*, in France, are sumptuous in point of elasticity, warmth, softness, and cleanliness. The first thing the cottager's wife does (in case a lodger decides to stay in her house) is to pull off the bed clothes, and poke and press the ticks. The good woman is proud to show you that her palliasse is rendered elastic by the best copper springs, and that on the top of it is piled a feather bed, to which heaven knows how many gulls and geese, wild and tame, contributed. Besides, there are a couple of woollen mattresses. The wool came from her own pet merinos, which her children led out daily to browse along the paths and roads, and she washed and carded it herself. The homespun ticking, and the coarse but snow-white sheets, are her own creation. The flax that made them she planted, gathered, steeped, scutched, spun, and helped to weave. The glory of *la petite propriété* is that it enables people to unite agriculture with skilled industry.

greatly increase the amount of food by uniting the advantages of both small and large farms. The author expects great results, not only from the garden operation and cultivation of fruit, but also from the produce of the poultry yard, and from the results of stable feeding for the rearing and fattening of cattle. The small farms of France and Belgium are in this respect the wonder of the world. The produce of their poultry yards is enormous. In the year 1866 there were imported into England, principally from France, 438,838,000 hens' eggs, and there were sent over to England from France and Belgium weekly 6,000,000 eggs. To this enormous produce of the French and Belgian poultry yards must still be added the amount they furnish to the people of those countries themselves; for it is well known that the *omelette* is a national dish in those countries, that it is in fact almost the principal article of food, and that the consumption of eggs for its preparation must at least surpass ten times the 438,000,000 exported to this country.

By the stocking of the poultry yard with a good number of hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, the resources of the food of the people will be greatly increased; eggs will enter more largely into consumption, and roast duck, goose, and turkey will then be seen more frequently on the table of all people, and not confine their appearance to the only one festive occurrence of Christmas or New Year.

The occupation of field and garden work, the rearing of cattle and poultry, and the occasional industrial labour, will, however, not entirely occupy the time of the husbandman, and he will find many moments of leisure to indulge in useful reading, in meteorological observations, in botanical and geological studies and peregrinations, or follow any other scientific pursuit, for which the requisite instruments, books, and appliances will be furnished by the State.

The author will conclude the subject of agricultural labour by the following beautiful lines from John Ruskin's work, "The Laws of Work":—

"Now the fulfilment of all human liberty is in the peaceful inheritance of the earth, with its 'herb yielding seed, and fruit tree yielding fruit' after his kind; the pasture, or arable, land, and the blossoming, or wooded and fruited, land uniting the

final elements of life and peace, for body and soul. Therefore, we have the two great Hebrew forms of benediction, ‘ His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk,’ and again, ‘ Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know how to refuse the evil and choose the good.’ And as the work of war and sin has always been the devastation of this blossoming earth, whether by spoil or idleness, so the work of peace and virtue is also that of the first day of Paradise, to ‘ dress it and to keep it.’ And that will always be the song of perfectly accomplished Liberty, in her industry, and rest, and shelter from troubled thoughts in the calm of the fields, and gaining, by *migration*, the long summer’s day from the shortening twilight :—

“ Where the bee sucks, there lurk I,
In a cowslip’s bell I lie :
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat’s back I do fly
After summer merrily :
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.”

CHAPTER XXX.—FACTORY LABOUR.

THIS kind of labour may be divided into three classes ; the first including all manufactures in which labour is almost exclusively performed by machinery ; the second comprising those manufacturing processes which are guided by scientific arrangements ; such as the manufacture of chemicals and dye-stuffs ; and the third consisting of the occupation of people in those factories in which the subdivision of labour is still confined to human hands, as, for instance, in the manufacture of steel pens.

The agency of human labour required in the first class is almost entirely confined to the attendance, regulation, and cleaning of machinery, and is, in most cases, of a light and easy character, so that it is, for this reason, largely assigned to women and children ; as may be seen from the report of the factory inspectors for 1872, which states that in all the factories

inspected there were employed 94,000 children under thirteen years of age, 720,000 women, and 1,200,000 males.

The marvellous perfection of machinery has also, in most cases, reduced the labour of the attendants; and when there is not enough labour required for the superintendence of *one* machine, several of *them* are placed under the care of one factory operative. A striking example of this kind is the little assistance required by the power-loom in its marvellous operations. Being minutely timed with a watch, it has been seen to weave seventy-two square inches of cloth in a minute, without any human being attending to it. This comparative self-action of the power-loom, and the proportionate decrease of the amount of attendance to one of these machines, forced the manufacturer to place one weaver over four looms,* in order to fully occupy him during a day's work.

In the pin-manufacture another marvellous progress has been made by the application of machinery to a kind of work that not a very long time ago was accomplished by a minute division of labour, each division requiring the employment of many persons. Now the work is done by a machine which will turn out 300 perfect pins in a minute; and one man, with the assistance of one or two boys, can attend to ten or twelve of these machines. The introduction of these machines naturally led to a great reduction of labour. The number of people formerly required in this branch of sub-divided labour, and now employed in the attendance of the pin-making machines, is forty to one.

In needle-making, automaton machines perform similar wonders. The *Mining and Scientific Press* says:—"There is a needle factory in New Haven, where the whole process is done by a single machine, without the manual labour of any

* In the cotton manufacture the number of power-looms has increased from 399,992 in 1861 to 463,118 in 1875, whilst the number of weavers to attend these looms has decreased from 166,209 in 1861 to 163,632 in 1875, which gives one man to four looms.

The factory inspectors' report for 1875 also states that owing to the high perfection and marvellous performance of machinery in the cotton manufacture, the number of male operatives has considerably decreased within the years 1861 and 1875, whilst the number of children employed from eight to thirteen years of age has within the same period trebled, and that of females doubled.

person. A coil of steel wire is put in. The machine cuts it off at the required lengths. It cuts the steel pieces consecutively, punches the eye-holes, counter-sinks the eyes, and grinds the points, and, in fact, does everything until the needles drop out completely formed. Another machine picks them up and arranges their heads and points together, and a third piece of mechanism puts them into paper. One of these machines occupies no more space than an ordinary table, and each of them turns out from 30,000 to 40,000 needles a day."

In the American Waltham Watch Manufactory, automatic machinery is very extensively employed. The work-rooms of this establishment present a scene of the most marvellous achievements of man's inventive genius. A large number of elegant and delicate machines are seen in operation, performing their functions with astonishing perfection. Some of them have two, three, and four automatic motions, and one—the screw-making automaton, the most complex of all—performs eight self-acting operations. By simply feeding this machine with the steel wire of the right size, all the requirements of a perfect screw are furnished by successive operations in an incredibly short space of time. These screws are so small that it requires about 150,000 to make a pound. They are mere dots on paper, but under the microscope they are found to be both perfect and uniform. The absolute perfection of this machine can only be realized when we are told that a single one will make 8,000 screws in a day, and that a boy can attend to four of these machines. In the same factory the various processes of sawing, cutting, drilling, and polishing the precious stones, as well as making tools for the same, are no longer in the hands of skilled artisans, but machinery driven by steam is made to do the work of experts.

In the nail manufacture the same revolution in the process of labour has been completed by the introduction of an elaborate automaton machine, in consequence of which the number of people employed dwindled down from 60,000 to 20,000.

Screws are also made to such an extent by machinery that the firm of Nettlefold and Chamberlain alone produce by thirty per cent. more than the total made before the introduction of machinery for screw-making.

The working on the old stocking-frame was more laborious

than the attendance on the new rotatory machine, impelled by steam, in which several new-fashioned stockings are made at the same time, and only require the superintendence of one man and boy; whereas, in the old frame, but one stocking could be made at once by a single workman.

From all these instances of highly-improved machinery, the following axiom may be deduced, that with the tendency of modern machinery to become automatic, or self-acting, not only will the amount of human labour be reduced, but also the superintendence of machinery itself will, and has in most cases already, become an easy and even pleasing task, and this would be the more so were it not for the general recourse the employer takes to exact as much labour from the attendant of machinery as possible by placing him over several machines when the superintendence of only one of them has become too easy.

By this peculiarly easy nature of machine-attending labour the social reformer is provided with a ready means of applying the principle of the equal division of labour to a great number of employments, and this will, especially, be a most valuable expedient in case of a sudden collapse of society as at present constituted. By the easy nature of machine-attending labour, every individual of the whole community will be enabled to participate in factory labour; and as all the members of the whole adult population will be, alternately, enrolled in this kind of labour, there will be no necessity of employing children for that purpose, unless it be in model-factories for the sake of instruction and apprenticeship.

The extent to which an immediate and equal division of factory labour may be practicable can be inferred from the fact, that the whole of the textile manufactures, and many other branches of industry, can easily be adapted to such a change, including—

Cotton	employing .	414,000 persons.
Wool	" .	240,000 "
Silk	" .	47,000 "
Flax	" .	20,000 "
Mixed materials	" .	84,000 "
Paper manufacture	" .	30,000 "

Potteries and earthenware, employing .	50,000	persons,
Brick-making. . . . "	40,000	"
Letterpress printing "	42,000	"
Lace and hosiery "	17,000	"
Elastic "	4,000	"
Calico-printing "	15,000	"
Nails, rivets, bolts "	7,000	"
Buttons "	3,000	"
Total	1,013,000	,,

The total number of all those who are at present engaged in factory labour may, in round numbers, be taken at 1,000,000 persons, including all kinds of employments in which the workman either assists a machine or is assisted by it.

The number of working days annually spent by each operative cannot be estimated at less than 300; which gives 300,000,000 working days for the total number of persons employed in the above enumerated employments.

It is obvious that an instantaneous reduction of the number of the people employed could be effected in almost every manufacture mentioned above; for in nearly all of them machinery is not yet employed to its fullest extent, and hand labour is still to be met with where it could most profitably be supplanted by machinery. In the woollen and silk manufactures, and even in that of cotton, hand-loom weaving is hopelessly kept up against the giant competitor, the power-loom.

The nailers and screw-cutters cling with pertinacity to making nails by hand-labour; which, in face of the astounding production by nail-making machines, would be sheer foolhardiness, did it not prove to the enlightened mind of others how difficult it is to change an occupation in which the whole family has learned to participate, and every member of which is forced to stick to their family trade of nail-making for fear that the displacement of any one of them might cause the ruin of all.

A case has even occurred in the neighbourhood of Dudley, where a father lately chained his young daughter to the anvil in order to keep her at steady work in nail-making; a practice

the more outrageous not so much on the part of the parent, but more so on the part of society being unable to extend the blessings of the nail-making machines to the nailers themselves.

In printing, a great number of hand-presses remain in use because the small master printers have not the means of purchasing and setting up steam-presses.

The brick-making machines have been excluded from the brickfields, partly because of their costliness, and partly, and perhaps more effectually so, by the determined opposition of the labourers themselves, who dread the idea of seeing their labour supplanted by machinery and the bread taken out of their mouth by those who have the means to set up brick-making machinery,—the attendance of which is most likely not to be entrusted to the former brickmakers.

Taking these instances of deficiency in the application of machinery into account, it may be safely assumed that with a more extended application of mechanical appliances, the number of all people employed would most likely be reduced by one-third of their present number, and that the future amount of factory labour would not present more than 200,000,000 working-days per annum. Those 200,000,000 working-days will have to be equally shared by 12,000,000 persons, or by a number of that portion of the population which remains when from the whole of the 20,000,000 people, 4,000,000 of very young children and 4,000,000 adults located on the land and engaged in agricultural labour are deducted, which leaves a sum that, for brevity, may be set down in the round number of 12,000,000, if some participation in factory labour by children from twelve to fifteen years old, as advised by the author, be admitted.

If 12,000,000 people share 200,000,000 working days in equal allotments, each individual will only have to spend about sixteen days per year in a factory.

This small number of days will, however, in the future state of society suffer a further reduction by the suppression of excessive exports, which, in the present manufacturing tendency, only serve to enrich the capitalists without in any perceptible way improving the condition of the working classes.

The suppression of luxury so often proposed by social

reformers, will most materially depress, if not entirely extinguish the silk and lace manufactures; and taking all these and similar considerations into account, the annual working time in factories is sure to be brought down to only six days per individual.

The benefits arising from this small fraction of time spent in factory labour will allow plenty of time for the initiation in, and apprenticeship to, the various manipulations connected with this kind of work; and should the shortness of this period cause any inconvenience in the travelling to and coming from the place where the factories are situated, a term of several years can be worked in one short period; for as the annual labour-contribution of each individual is only six days, his indebtedness in that respect to society for seven years could be discharged by forty-two days' or six weeks' continuous labour. He would then be liberated for other pursuits.

The shortness of the period of factory work, being only six days for the whole adult population, will also be a means for restoring women to their natural sphere of domestic work, and to the fulfilment of their duties as mothers and nurses of their children; for if the men agree to work twelve days instead of six, the women can be entirely withdrawn from the factory. If this withdrawal of all women from even six days of factory labour is highly advisable, how much more does not the present state of society require a radical change in order to obviate the extensive employment of women in continuous factory work, for a period of 300 days in every year? That the present state of things is very objectionable is even admitted by the factory inspectors, for they say in their report for 1872:—"Including every kind of workshop, the number of female workers may be reasonably estimated at a total of 1,080,000 females employed from home, and therefore from what ought to be the best influences of the human mind."

A second class of factory labour, and one eminently suited for equal distribution among the people, comprises all those manufactures in which scientific arrangements on a large scale reduce the labour of the individual employed to the simplest kind, very often consisting of nothing else but removing, carrying, and depositing materials. In this kind of labour there are at present employed the following number of persons:—

In Chemical work	20,000	persons
" Breweries	20,000	"
" Soap boiling	12,000	"
" Malting	10,000	"
" Tanneries and curries	21,000	"
" Gas works	8,000	"
" Lime making	5,000	"
" Salt works	2,000	"
" Sugar refineries	3,000	"
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Total	101,000	

Calculated at 300 working-days per year for each individual employed, the amount of work done in these branches of industry is 30,300,000 working-days annually. This number will, however, experience a great reduction by the economy in the consumption of gas, which will certainly reduce the 8000 men now employed to 2000; and the almost total suppression of the manufacture of intoxicating drinks will at once extinguish both the 20,000 brewers, and 10,000 malsters. These two items alone will reduce 100,000 to 64,000 persons employed, with only 19,200,000 working days, which if divided among 12,000,000 of those capable to work, will only add not quite two days to their yearly labour.

The third class of factory labour, including all those occupations required by the minute subdivision of manufacturing processes, is especially to be met with in the manufacture of cutlery, tools, steel pens, buttons, guns, brass ware, etc., and may be estimated as employing at least 60,000 persons.

Although the suppression of luxury may to a small extent effect a reduction of these manufactures, it will, however, be greatly counterbalanced by the increased activity in the production of tools; for in the future social state every man being skilled in a variety of trades, he will consequently need various sets of tools.

If the total labour of this class amounts to 18,000,000 working-days it will annually allot in equal shares one and a half working-days per individual.

The next class of labour also easily admits of an equal distribution amongst the male portion of the community.

CHAPTER XXXI.—CARRYING AND LOCOMOTION.

TO this class belong the persons employed in the following occupations:—

In railway service	53,000	persons
In streets and roads	100,000	"
On canals	35,000	"
On seas and rivers	206,000	"
As coachmen (not domestic)	17,000	"
As cab and flymen	10,000	"
As carriers and carters	67,000	"
In the storage of goods	20,000	"
As porters and messengers	74,000	"
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Total	582,000	

The reduction that will be effected in these employments will be very great, and will arise from the total suppression of the wholesale and retail trade, and from the introduction of another and more economical system of distributing produce, in which only the tenth part of the present number of porters, messengers, errand boys, warehousemen, packers, carriers, carters, seamen, lightermen, railway servants, road labourers, street sweepers, omnibus drivers, and coachmen will be required to do all the necessary work.

Very few cab and fly men will be wanted, for every individual of the great bulk of the people will have plenty of time to walk on foot to his work, and to return from it in the same fashion. With the exception of the conveyance of patients and doctors in cases of sudden illness or accidents, there will be a total cessation of the occupation of cab and flymen.

The railway service will also require a much smaller number of servants, owing to the diminution of the goods traffic; but will, on the other hand, probably want some more servants for the increased passenger locomotion arising from the frequent dislocation of the whole population, in order to convey all persons to their alternate occupations in factories and national workshops, and on the land. Still, this passenger locomotion

will even then, when embracing the whole nation, remain inferior in mileage and numbers to the present senseless railway travelling, used either for the purposes of trade and commerce, or for the gratification of pleasure-seekers.

A reduction to the tenth part of the carrying work now performed will reduce the present number of 174,600,000 working-days to 17,460,000, or, in round numbers, to 17,000,000 working-days, which, if divided among 12,000,000 workers, will be but one and a half day per individual.

CHAPTER XXXII.—MINING LABOUR, AND OTHER HEAVY WORK.

THIS kind of labour is likewise to be classed amongst the series of those fit for equal distribution, not only because there does not exist any real difficulty in learning the work of the pitman, but because it is heavy, uncomfortable, and dangerous work.

The number of persons engaged in mines and other similar heavy work are the following :—

Coal-mining . . . employs . . .	360,000
Tin and Copper . . . , " . . .	31,000
Lead , " . . .	18,000
Iron , " . . .	20,000
To these may be added those employed,—	
As coal-heavers	17,000
In stone quarries	22,000
In slate quarries	9,000
As navvies	43,000
As general labourers	300,000
Total	820,000

This grand total multiplied by 300 working-days for each individual gives 246,000,000 working-days, to which nearly the half falls to the lot of the pitman. This enormous burden of labour will, however, in the future social state, be at once

lessened by one half of its ponderous weight, which now crushes about 1,000 persons annually; for no time will be lost, and no obstacles encountered, in the introduction and universal application of the coal-cutting apparatus,—an ingenious machine of recent invention, which is already at work in several collieries, but whose great success has not yet made any perceptible impression on the apathy, prejudice, or ignorance of the present coal-owners. This machine is said to cut, in eight hours' time, 350 feet of coal, yielding from seventy to seventy-five tons in weight—a production that represents the work of forty men for the same period. Three or at most four men are required to tend the machine, and its general adoption would, according to a calculation in the *Times* of Jan. 6th, 1873, render it possible to dispense with the labour of 300,000 of the 360,000 men now employed in the coal-mines of the country.*

The labour in the coal-mines, although so enormously reduced by machinery, will, in the future social state, be further lessened by the great decrease in the consumption of coal on account of the diminution of all manufactures, by the large reduction in the consumption of gas, and by the great saving of fuel in the Associated Homes.

One-tenth of the above number of 246,000,000 working-days will probably suffice for this class of work; and if 24,000,000 working-days are shared by 7,000,000 males (for females never ought nor never will have to participate in this heavy kind of work), it will only allot a fraction more than three days per annum to each man of the 7,000,000 of the adult male population.

* Some of the coal-cutting machines now working at West Ardsley have been in constant use three or four years, and by their employment the equivalent of a man's power exerted for the whole day in cutting coal can be obtained at a cost in fuel of only 3*½*d. The daily work done by one of these machines is about equal to the day's work of twelve average men, and the persons employed to work the machine are one man, one youth, and one boy.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—SKILLED LABOUR.

THIS class of labour is performed by that great army of working-men and women who, in the exercise of their trades, have to employ special operations of intellect and skillfulness of manipulations, to which the appellation “handicraft” is most happily applied.

The following list contains, in round numbers, the principal trades of this kind, with the omission of those miscellaneous employments and small trades numbering less than 1,000 persons:—

List of Skilled Trades.

Agricultural implement makers	1,000
Anchorsmiths, chainsmiths	4,000
Apprentices (undefined)	2,000
Artificers in H.M.’s dockyards	14,000
Artificial flower-makers	5,000
Bag and sack-makers	2,000
Bakers	54,000
Barge, boat-builders	3,000
Basket-makers	9,000
Bedstead, mattress-makers	2,000
Bellhangers, locksmiths	5,000
Berlin wool-workers	1,000
Blacksmiths	108,000
Block, oar, mast-makers	2,000
Bobbin-makers, turners	2,000
Boiler-makers	13,000
Bonnet-makers	6,000
Bookbinders	11,000
Boot and shoe-makers	250,000
Box-makers	3,000
Braid-makers	1,000
Brass-manufacturers	16,000
Braziers	2,000
Bricklayers	79,000
Brickmakers	39,000
Bristle, flax manufacturers	3,000
Brush and broom makers	11,000
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Builders	15,000
Burnishers (undefined)	1,000
Butchers	68,000
Cap-makers	6,000
Carpenters, joiners	177,000
Carvers, gilders	5,000
Carvers (wood)	2,000
Case-makers (packing)	1,000
Cellarmen	1,000
Cement, plaster manufacturers	1,000
Chair-makers	8,000
Chimney-sweepers	6,000
Cigar, tobacco manufacturers	5,000
Civil engineers	4,000
Clock and watch-makers	20,000
Clog and patten-makers	5,000
Coach-makers	18,000
Comb-makers	1,000
Coopers	18,000
Coppersmiths	2,000
Cord, rope-makers	13,000
Cork-cutters	2,000
Cutlers	6,600
Dressmakers	287,000
Embroiderers	2,000
Engine and machine-makers	60,000
Engine-drivers (railway)	10,000
Engine-drivers (undefined).	10,000
Engravers	5,000
Envelope-makers	1,000
Farriers	7,000
Fellmongers	2,000
File-makers	8,000
Fishermen	17,000
French-polishers.	6,000
Furriers	3,000
Gasfitters	5,000
Glass manufacturers	15,000
Glaziers, painters, plumbers	74,000
Glovers	25,000

Glove (silk) manufacturers	1,000
Goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers	15,000
Grate, stove, range-makers	1,000
Gravediggers	1,000
Grinders (undefined)	1,000
Guard chain makers	1,000
Gunsmiths	11,000
Hair-dressers, wig-makers	11,000
Harness-makers, saddlers	18,000
Hatters	13,000
Hoop-makers	1,000
Horse-breakers	2,000
Iron-manufacturers	125,000
Ivory-cutters	1,000
Japanners	2,000
Key-makers	1,000
Knife-makers	6,000
Knitters	2,000
Lath-makers	2,000
Lithographic printers	3,000
Marble masons	2,000
Masons, paviors	84,000
Mat-makers	2,000
Metal (refined) turners	2,000
Millers	32,000
Millwrights	8,000
Mineral water manufacturers	1,000
Musical instrument makers	5,000
Net-makers	2,000
Nightmen, scavengers	2,000
Nurserymen	3,000
Oil millers, refiners	2,000
Opticians	2,000
Paper hangers	2,000
Paper stainers	2,000
Parasol and umbrella makers	5,000
Pattern designers	1,000
Philosophical instrument makers	1,000
Picture-frame makers	1,000
Pilots	3,000

Plasterers	18,000
Platelayers	6,000
Printers	30,000
Razor makers	1,000
Road labourers	10,000
Sail makers	4,000
Seamstresses and shirt makers	76,000
Shipbuilders, shipwrights	31,000
Shipriggers	2,000
Shovel and spade makers	1,900
Skinnners	2,000
Slaters, tilers	5,000
Stay and corset makers	11,000
Straw hat manufacturers	18,000
Tailors	136,000
Telegraph service	3,000
Tinmen, tinkers	8,000
Tobacco and snuff manufacturers	5,000
Tobacco-pipe makers	4,000
Tool makers	6,000
Toy makers	3,000
Trimming makers	2,000
Trunk makers	2,000
Turners	8,000
Washerwomen	167,000
Waterworks service	2,000
Weavers (not defined)	6,000
Wheelwrights	30,000
Whip makers	1,000
Whitesmiths	10,000
Wire drawers	3,000
Wire weavers	3,000
Total	3,610,000
Other small trades	390,000
Grand total	4,000,000

These 4,000,000 workpeople, including both masters and men, represent labour to the enormous amount of 1,200,000,000

working-days per annum, calculated at 300 working-days per individual. This class of labour stands in favourable contrast to that required in factories and manufactures, because it is mostly performed by males, whilst factory labour, which, by its nature, is the more dangerous of the two, is largely shared by women and children. The proportions between the number of males and females and children employed in factory work and skilled labour is stated in the factory inspectors' report to be the following:—In 7997 textile factories, and in 83 non-textile trades, and in 15,031 works of various kinds, making a grand total of 23,346 works, there are employed 94,346 children, 720,478 females, and 1,290,159 males; the textile factories alone employing 42,200 children, and 574,357 females.

The disproportion of too large a number of females, especially in the textile manufactures, is, however, not the only thing objectionable; but female labour is also in many other employments sadly out of place, and tends to destroy the delicacy of the female character. In blast furnaces, iron mills, foundries and in the nail manufacture, women are still employed, where they are exposed to an atmosphere thickly loaded with smoke and coal dust, which effaces the whiteness of their skin by a layer of soot, thus destroying one of the principal charms of woman's beauty. We may therefore heartily support the suggestion of the factory inspectors, that the employment of female labour in the above named occupations should be prohibited by law. By this means the following number of female workers employed in

Blast furnaces	2,603
Iron mills	2,171
Foundries	2,756
Nail making	2,708
Total	10,238

would be withdrawn from work and places which are degrading to woman's nature.

The author refers, however, with great sorrow to the plea of poverty and necessity put in for an excuse of the presence of women in those places, and he pities especially those who

are engaged at the anvil in the nail making by hand-labour, which is not only uncongenial to their nature, but also exhausting ; because manual labour is here carrying on a death struggle against the inroads of machinery, requiring the utmost efforts of all the members of the poor nailor's family to obtain a scanty livelihood, by employing women, not only in blowing the bellows, but also in swinging the hammer, and forging nails, rivets, and bolts ! Landseer, the great artist painter, might have seized this subject, and painted "The Maid at the Anvil ;" and he would have represented through it truth more faithfully than in his picture "The Maid and Magpie ;" for the fact is that in England men milk cows and women make nails, which is the case in no other country of the world, and ought, as Landseer's picture appropriately suggests, to be just the reverse.

In the dangerous occupation of making Percussion caps and cartridges, the employment of 10,393 females is likewise strongly to be condemned ; for women are not capable of paying that close attention to strict regulations by which accidents are, to a great extent, preventible.

A general complaint of most of those males and females who are engaged in skilled labour, is the insufficient accommodation of space in workshops. Tailors and dressmakers, for instance, are often crowded together in small rooms, in which they not only inhale the bad air they have exhaled, but have also to bear the inconvenience arising from the heating of the irons.

It will be an agreeable prospect for all skilled workmen that in a reformed state of society they will enjoy the comfort of spacious, well ventilated, well aired, and well arranged workshops, that will form a happy contrast to those places visited by the factory inspectors, and which they describe as "situated in the courts and alleys of large towns, into which the sun can scarcely ever enter, and which consist of nests of old cottages, already worn out with long service, now converted into factories and worked by the dwindled power of small-pressure engines ; crowded with occupants oblivious of the pride of the place, and caring little for those appliances which in themselves constitute the reasons for sanitary investigations."

The author can, however, promise still greater relief to the great army of skilled workmen by arrangements that will not

only provide spacious, well ventilated, clean, safe, and sheltered workshops, but he will moreover be enabled to reduce the total amount of labour now performed by 4,000,000 skilled workmen and workwomen to an enormous extent, which will allow to each individual, now uninterruptedly employed the whole day and the whole year throughout, a great deal of time that he or she will be able to spend, not only in other useful and attractive employments, such as agriculture, domestic and factory labour, and work connected with conveyance, but which will give him also leisure for the study of sciences and practice of arts. The application of the principle of variation of labour will then form one of the principal attractions of all kinds of occupations, and will be a powerful antidote to that uniform and wearisome monotony which now is the curse not only of factory labour, but also, to a great extent, of all handicrafts.

The four million workpeople engaged in skilled labour represent labour to the enormous amount of 1,200,000,000 working days per annum, calculated at 300 working days per individual.

It is one of the principal tasks of the author to devise means for the reduction of this gigantic amount of labour; and his endeavours in this direction strangely contrast with the tendency of the present age, which rejoices at the increased demand for labour and at the opening of new sources of employments, and is loudly boasting that even in those processes of manufacture which formerly were done by hand-labour, the introduction of machinery has not diminished but increased the number of hands,—an assertion that, however, is not universally true; for it is found that in the pin manufacture the number of people employed after and before the introduction of automaton machinery is one to forty. Likewise in nail making machinery has reduced the number of persons occupied from 60,000 to 20,000.

The reduction of the number of persons employed in any trade is, under the present social system, a great calamity, but will, on the contrary, be made a great blessing by the future social organization. The new arrangement will open a great number of sources from which we can draw abundant means for the reduction of skilled labour.

One of the most prolific will certainly be a still more extended application of machinery, and will especially not fail

to achieve the most astonishing results in the universal application of that machinery alone which is already invented, successfully tried, and partially in use.*

Another powerful means for the reduction of labour will be the suppression of luxury in its multifarious modes.

The concentration of trades, or workshops of one and the same kind of labour, will be another mighty lever acting in the same direction, and the same result may be expected from the abolition of wholesale and retail trade.

When these three remedies—viz., extended application of machinery, suppression of luxury, and concentration of trades—have been successfully applied, and have by their action reduced the number of the 1,200,000,000 working-days now spent in skilled labour, to the lowest possible amount, we may finally add together the reduced amount of domestic, factory, and skilled labour, and work spent in carrying and conveyance. The sum thus obtained will be shared by the whole of that portion of the 20,000,000 inhabitants which remains after the young children, the aged, and those engaged in agriculture have been deducted, and which in round numbers amounts to about 12,000,000 persons.

The reduction of labour resulting from a more extensive application of machinery will affect many trades, and amongst them some of those which employ the largest number of persons, and whose operations are capable of being carried on to a great extent by machinery. They are chiefly the following:—

Breadmaking by machinery is no novelty, and if applied to the whole trade will reduce the number of bakers from 54,000 to 10,000.

In the *Boot* manufacture machinist boot-makers can produce per individual four pair of shoes in a day; and at this rate of production it would only require 60,000 shoe machinists to make 80,000,000 pair of shoes per year, or four pair for each individual of the whole of twenty million inhabitants. The

* “The universal use of mechanical engines in all physical labour will bestow inestimable benefits to the whole community. The economical gains will be immense; but besides these, labour will be raised as machinery takes more and more upon itself the rough drudgery of toil, and makes the educated artizan that which his name implies—a minister of art, not a bondslave of the factory and mill.”—*From the “Beehive.”*

reduction of labour arrived at would be 190,000—60,000 being subtracted from the present number of shoemakers, which is 250,000.

Brickmaking by machinery will reduce the number of brickmakers from 39,000 to 10,000.

The work of *Washerwomen* may, for the greater part, be done by machinery, and even the ironing of linen has been successfully done by mechanical contrivances. If the actual number of washerwomen is now put down by the census to be 287,000, the future number required will perhaps not be more than 100,000.

Tailoring and *Dressmaking* may also be reduced by a more extensive use of the sewing machine, which the poverty of the male and female workers in this trade, and the limited means of small master tailors often prevent from being introduced into their workshops. The reduction effected by the universal use of these machines will, probably, lower the number of 136,000 tailors and 287,000 dressmakers to 100,000 and 50,000 respectively. A proportionate low number of milliners, dressmakers, and tailors will also be obtained by the suppression of luxury in dresses.

The work of the *Blacksmith* admits of a considerable reduction, both by the application of small and large steam forges and the more extended substitution of cast-iron work for wrought-iron. The number to be deducted on this account from 108,000 blacksmiths now employed will probably leave 60,000 as needed in the future social state.

There will, however, scarcely be a trade in which machinery will not produce similar reductions; and the results obtained in the few illustrations given above may serve as indications of what can be done in this respect. The aggregate reductions of the few trades instanced, namely :—

Bakers	10,000
Shoemakers	60,000
Brickmakers	10,000
Washerwomen	100,000
Tailors	100,000
Dressmakers	50,000
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Show a total of	330,000, which,

compared with the number of 1,041,000 at present employed in these trades, points to a saving of 611,000 persons, or of 183,300,000 working-days.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—ABOLITION OF LUXURY.

THE great mass of the toiling millions, will, however, derive a much greater benefit from the suppression of luxury than from any other arrangement that might be introduced for the reduction of worktime—the increased application of machinery, even, included.

But as luxury is indulged in through a thousand different modes of practices, the enumeration of which would by itself fill a large volume, the author will here only have room to indicate some of the grossest abuses which luxury engenders, not only by the misemployment of the rare and costly gifts of nature, but also by clandestinely appropriating the honest labour of thousands of hard-toiling artizans, to minister to the extravagant and vicious habits of a few.

In the new social state everything that entails unnecessary labour, everything that can be dispensed with without curtailing the comforts and enjoyments of the people, will be considered as luxury.* When this principle shall have been established, the suppression of luxury will, most likely, lead to the total extinction of many trades and manufactures, and, in these instances, send over large multitudes of people to the really useful army of workers. In many trades a great diminution of the present number of people employed will take place from the same cause, and produce the same effect.

Amongst the many trades and manufactures that will either be totally destroyed or partially diminished will be the following:—

Artificial Flower-making.—This trade employs about 5,000 workers, and the greater part of the articles produced are

* “What occasions, then, so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life, who, with those who do nothing, consume necessities raised by the laborious.”—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

largely employed either for the trimming of ladies' hats, bonnets, and head-dresses, or, very often compose a kind of head-gear almost entirely consisting of strange artificial flowers, in imitation of plants, fruit, and insects, exhibiting cherries, plums, acorns, wheat, grass, thistles, butterflies, bees, lady-birds, and grasshoppers. The luxury of adorning ladies' hats and bonnets with artificial flowers is the more ridiculous, because everyone knows that these flowers, fruit, and insects are not natural ones, and are, therefore, intended to produce deception; a practice which most ladies would condemn if it were resorted to in the wearing of false diamonds and jewels; although they may, even involuntarily, do so, presuming they are wearing fine gold, real oriental pearls, and natural, genuine precious stones, when, in reality, all their finery, their gold jewellery, their pearl necklaces, their diamond earrings, were only base imitations that the dishonest trader foisted upon the unwary customer.

Moreover, the overcrowding and overloading of ladies' head-dresses with gorgeous flowers, swinging fruit, and fluttering insects, contribute nothing to the comfort of the wearer, which she would receive in the protection from heat and sunlight in the summer, and damp and cold in the winter. A light, broad-brimmed straw hat, for the summer, trimmed with a single ribbon, and a properly-lined bonnet for the winter, would give all the protection required, and the work of the 5,000 artificial flower-makers could be dispensed with.

Milliners and Dressmakers.—This occupation numbers 287,000 persons, of whom each one is capable of making at least two dresses per week, which, for the whole number, would show a yearly production of twenty-eight million dresses, or about three dresses for each individual of the whole female population, consisting of about eight million persons, not reckoning very young female children.

Considering that there are a great number of housewives, governesses, and other females engaged in making dresses for themselves and at their homes, and, also, that there are many women and girls who do not get more than one dress per year, and that, perhaps, a second-hand one, it must be surmised that a great many women are annually provided with a superabundance of dresses; and this supposition gains still more

strength from a generally accredited statement, that there are many ladies who every day put on a new dress. In the same direction points also the fact, noticed some time ago by the public press, that at the death of a certain wealthy English lady, three hundred silk dresses in pieces not yet made up were found in her room.* Indulgence in excessive luxury of this kind will explain to some extent the amount of work done by 287,000 dressmakers; but it must also be granted that their work would be a great deal less if they had not to waste an enormous amount of labour on superfluous trimming, flouncing, plaiting, braiding, and embroidering. So excessive is this additional work, that it may be safely stated that two dresses could be made in the time it requires now for one, were these superfluous adornments left out; which would at once reduce by one half the whole number of milliners and dressmakers.

The new social state will certainly insist upon simplicity in dress both for men and women; and the women will more easily acquiesce in it, because they will all be their own dressmakers, and living in associated homes, the worth and peculiar beauty of every woman will be exactly known to all the inmates, and no luxury in dress, artificial flowers, false hair, and imitation jewellery, will then be capable of adding the least charm to what is already known, appreciated, and admired.†

* The sale of the personal property of Madame Clementine Monseur, a Belgian lady of fortune, lately deceased, has, according to the *Journal de Liège*, "revealed a state of things unknown within the memory of man." (Certainly not of an Englishman, for he has heard it stated that Queen Elizabeth had left five thousand gowns to her residuary legatee). The effects of the Belgian lady consisted of mountains of dress pieces heaped upon each other, but all quite new, and many of them still ticketed; also of hundreds of bonnets, made-up dresses, cloaks, shawls, and all sorts of specimens of the milliner's skill. Nearly 100,000 francs were realized by the sale of these hoards.

† "Almost all the parts of our bodies require some expense. The feet demand shoes; the legs stockings; the rest of the body, clothing; and the belly, a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask, when reasonable, only the cheap assistance of spectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Another advantage derived from the simplicity of dress will be the great saving of the time which many women now waste in dressing themselves. On this subject, Stuart Mill says:—“The great and continual exercise of thought which all women who attach any value to dressing well must bestow upon their own dress, perhaps also upon that of their daughters, would alone go a great way towards achieving respectable results in art, or science, or literature, and does actually exhaust much of the time and mental power they might save to spare for either.”

However, should there exist amongst some portion of the female population an irresistible desire for wearing finery—for instance, silk dresses—the new social state will put no insurmountable obstacle in their way. The only condition imposed by the state upon these foolish women will be that they will have to do all the work required for the final possession of the object of their desire. If they wish to wear silk dresses, they will also have to rear the silkworms, spin the silk, wind it, dye it, weave it, and make it at last into dresses. This will teach them the difference between luxury procurable in the old state by money, and in the new by labour only. It is quite certain that the experiment, if ever tried, will not be repeated again, and that luxury procurable by one's own labour will never be indulged in to any considerable extent.

This aspect of the question of luxury fitly introduces the probable extinction of the whole of the silk manufactures, especially the production of broad silks, crapes, handkerchiefs, and fancy goods. To what extent the luxury of wearing silk apparel has been indulged in may be guessed from the fact that there are upwards of 300 silk manufactories worked in this country, requiring the labour of 50,000 hands. It is also known that France produces silk goods to the enormous amount of £17,000,000 sterling per annum, a great part of which is imported into England.*

Nearly the whole of this enormous production is wasted in

* The increased consumption of expensive silks in this country has been very remarkable since the conclusion of the French Treaty. In 1850 the value of silks imported amounted to little more than two millions and a quarter, in 1870 it exceeded fifteen million pounds sterling.

luxury ; and this is the more objectionable because those who wear silk dresses and silk mantles, use silk handkerchiefs, have their coats lined with silk, or even put on silk stockings, do not consider the hardships the silk spinner, dyer, weaver, and even the dressmaker, has to go through before the luxury is produced, which others indulge in, who have not, in the least, participated in those hardships.

The wages of dressmakers scarcely average twelve shillings a week ; mantle work is paid at the same rate, and the earnings of the operatives in the silk manufacture are equally low, ranging from four to ten shillings for boys and girls ; and these form the greater number of the employed.

Let those ladies who prefer French Moirés and velvets think of the condition of the silk weavers of Lyons. "In ordinary times they work twelve hours a day, but in very busy times their hours of toil are said, occasionally, to reach the almost incredible stretch of twenty hours. Their physical condition is acknowledged by medical authorities to be low, and they are peculiarly subject to scrofulous and scorbutic complaints, skin diseases and rheumatism ; while nearly half the young men of Lyons are exempted from military service on account of weakness, deformity, or shortness of stature. "Wherever luxury smiles, take off the mask, and below there are faces that weep." (Jean Reynaud, in "*Terre et Ciel.*")

The total suppression of the silk manufacture would reduce the labour of the nation by 15,000,000 working-days, calculated at 300 for each of the 50,000 employed.

Hair dressing and Wigmaking.—These occupations employ now about 11,000 persons of both sexes,—the whole number of which might, however, easily be dispensed with, if men would let their beards grow ;* if they, like the German peasants, would cut each other's hair ; if ladies would be their own hair-dressers, and if they would refrain from putting deceptive

* Dr. Nichols, in his "*Manual of Morals,*" says :—"It is my solemn opinion that razors may be entirely banished from the earth with great advantage to health and manliness. I see no good reason why any man should shave."

We also read in 2 Samuel x. 5. —"Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return."

ornaments of false hair on their heads.* The practice of deception, in whatever disguise, for whatever purpose, is disreputable ; but in the case of false hair it is the more so, for the deceptive article cannot be obtained without inflicting a painful sacrifice on other women who, compelled by poverty, submit to the degrading and unsexing operation of having their whole head of hair cut off at certain periods. The beautiful tresses of the French peasant girls, who cultivate their hair for sale with as much care as their fathers bestow on the crops of the field, supply 200,000lbs. weight for England alone ; and as a head of hair weighs on an average about 10 ounces, it is clear that not less than 10,000 young women annually consent to be deprived of one of the most charming attributes of the beauty of woman. But in the present state of society fashion reigns with merciless tyranny ; false hair giving additional deceptive attraction to one portion of the female community, deprives another of the very beauty of which the former is deficient. The use of the crinolines, which in the height of their fashion consumed about ten tons of Sheffield steel-wire in one single year, although continued for a short period of years only, led to a not inconsiderable number of deaths by burning ; but such was the run of that fashion that in its mad career the victims trampled to death were left unnoticed in their agony ; and it was only after the most strenuous efforts had been made by reason and satire, that this dangerous and ridiculous fashion of crinoline fell into disuse, and gave way to a less dangerous expansion of petticoat circumference, although the next following fashion in ladies' dresses degenerated into a bulk of appendices, called

* A Sleeping Beauty in the wood,
Now slumbering on her mossy bed,
Would half a yard of chignon, good,
Have piled upon her head.

On Beauty's crown a hair-rick towers ;
A thing of grace, O Christian friends !
Adorned with artificial flowers,
And sprigs, and shreds, and ribbons' ends.

Forms of the smaller *fauna*, some,
Would in her topknot find a lair ;
The little birds and dormice come,
And build and nestle in her hair.

paniers by their inventors, the Parisian fashionmongers; which certainly cannot claim any merit of beauty and comfort, but seem to be introduced for the sake of increasing the amount of material from which the dresses are made, as well as the gain of the manufacturer. This is, perhaps, the secret reason why ladies' dresses require now from thirty to forty yards of silk, whereas some ten years ago some fourteen or fifteen yards were considered amply sufficient.

Stay and Corset Making.—This trade, which in England is an important branch of manufacture, employing 11,000 persons, is likewise doomed to disappear when the new social state will have enacted that the wearing of stays, corsets, and false breasts, is not only to be discontinued because it is a means of deception, but also because of its unnatural restraint upon the body, especially the chest and stomach, very often causing internal ligations, ruptures, dislocation and disorganization of the intestines. In a paper on "Modern Dress in Relation to Health and Taste," read by Mr. W. B. Tegetmeier at the meeting of the National Health Society, the modern attire of ladies was pronounced to be in many respects injurious to health, and tight lacing was condemned in the following words:—"The outrageous fashion of constricting the waist, and thus altering the natural form of the body, was the greatest evil connected with female dress. People had come to look upon this constriction almost as natural, but it was in itself a hideous deformity. Not long ago he was talking to a lady whose weight was about twelve stone, and she told him that the size of her waist was eighteen inches; and he had measured many of the villainous bands with which the female waist was bound, and found that they did not exceed that size. Into a space, then, of eighteen inches the lungs, heart, liver, and stomach, the four largest and most important organs of the body, were to be compressed. The system of tight lacing was attended with the greatest possible evil. The heart could not act, consequently the circulation of the blood was impeded, and, as none of the organs were properly nourished, disease of the whole body here and there took place."

In "Madre Natura v. The Moloch of Fashion," an excellent little book written by Luke Limner, there is a list of the diseases to which the practice of tight lacing has been proved

to lead. Of these, eleven are affections of the head, fifteen diseases of the chest, and sixty-one diseases of other bodily regions.

Glove Making.—This trade, which employs about 26,000 persons, 1,000 of them being silk glovers, although administering largely to the comfort of people by protecting their hands against cold, dirt, and injury, produces, however, the greatest number of gloves for the sole behest of fashion and show. There can only be one legitimate use of gloves, and that is against cold in the winter; and to wear gloves at any other time, when the weather does not require it, is useless waste and wanton luxury. To what extent this luxury is indulged in may be guessed from the great number of gloves produced in this country (12,000,000 pairs) and imported from France (10,000,000 pairs). As the whole population of the United Kingdom amounts only to 32,000,000 inhabitants, and as it is well known that at least three-fourths of the people wear no gloves at all, there remain but 8,000,000 consumers for 22,000,000 gloves,—appropriating to themselves three pairs for each individual. This appropriation is, however, not taking place in an equal ratio, for there are many persons who perhaps use a dozen pair, whilst others have to content themselves with one. By suppressing the luxury produced by this trade, and confining it to the creation of comfort only, the social state will perhaps only require 10,000 instead of 26,000 glovers.

Hut-making.—The wearing of hats is one of the most tenacious of all deceptive fashions. The chimney-pot shape of men's hats has been maintained for more than a century, and there seems little likelihood that it will lose its predominance over other more graceful and more comfortable shapes. The silk chimney-pot hat, especially, contains all the attributes of deception, ugliness, costliness, and uncomfortableness. It is deceptive in a double manner: for its chimney-pot form is to heighten the stature of men,—which, in reality it does not; and its silky hair is to imitate the real beaver hat,—which, as to appearance, it does most admirably, but greatly lacks the quality, the softness, and, above all, the durability of the real article. It is ugly because resembling a chimney-pot, and it is uncomfortable because it painfully presses, by its hardness,

on the temples of the head; and by its height and rim it is liable to be blown off by the slightest gust of wind, causing in its pursuit and capture the oddest scenes imaginable, especially when the bewildered and unsuccessful captor happens to be a grave, stern-looking, portly gentleman. The silk chimney-pot hat is, moreover, expensive, because it has to undergo a great number of operations before it leaves the hands of the artizan, and requires many sorts of materials for the composition of its body. Mr. W. B. Tegetmeier, in his paper on "Modern Dress," says: "Perhaps the most injurious article of male attire is the chimney-pot hat, which is the embodiment of all that is inelegant and useless."

It is likewise a striking fact that artist painters and sculptors shun with no small degree of aversion this unshapen head-covering. The sculptor who made Cobden's statue, although showing the great Parliamentarian in the modern frock-coat, wisely represents him bareheaded, and scorns the idea of crowning the venerable head with the chimney-pot hat, although it is universally known that Cobden in frock-coat and hat on was frequently seen pacing the lobbies of the House of Commons.

A similar aversion of another artist was lately to be noticed in a portrait of Wagner, the celebrated musical composer. This fine picture was published in the *Graphic* of the 30th August, 1873, and represents the man's head covered with a kind of cap, beautifully folded and lying rather flat; thus giving great prominence to the marked and thoughtful features of the great composer.

The same may be said of the universally admired portrait of Henry VIII., in which he appears covered with a low, round cap bearing a drooping feather, and showing his sturdy face and determined look to the best advantage; and no greater insult could be done to the memory of this great prince than to represent him wearing a modern chimney-pot hat.

By substituting caps made, by machinery, of leather, cloth, or calico, hat-making would become unnecessary, and the social state would gain an access of 13,000 people for other occupations.

Coach-building, which now employs 18,000 persons, is to all intents and purposes administering to luxury, and will for

this reason have no existence in the social state; and the author is most agreeably surprised that the House of Representatives at Washington has, on the 25th April, 1874, set the first example of suppressing this kind of luxury by striking out from the public estimates the 1100 dollar landaulet and horses hitherto used by the Attorney-General, whose official carriage has thus become a thing of the past.

The trade of the *Harness-maker and Saddler*, numbering 18,000, will share a similar fate, and become nearly extinct by being reduced to the small number of 5000. No more elegant ladies will then be seen riding gracefully about; and the sight of the Rotten Row will become a thing of the past, like the tournaments of the Middle Ages and the chariot races of Antiquity.

Cabinet-making and Upholstery, counting 41,000 workers, is also, to a great extent, employed in providing and fixing all kinds of luxurious articles of furniture and upholstery, and will, therefore, experience a great diminution of the number of workers wanted in the new social home; in which all commodities in the shape of furniture, as tables, chairs, chests of drawers, window blinds (curtains are superfluous luxury, and will not be provided by the social state), will be of the simplest description, without any elaborate carving and superfine polishing, being merely made of substantial material and without the deception of veneering in wooden pieces of furniture, or imitation leather in articles of upholstery.

From this introduction of simplicity and solidity in cabinet-making and upholstery, the trade will in future not require more than 10,000 workers.

Tobacco and Snuff Manufacture.—This kind of labour requires the work of 5,000 persons, to which must also be added 5,000 tobacconists and 4,000 tobacco-pipe makers, which make a total of 14,000 persons, and amongst them many children and women, who are all engaged in the maintenance of the most unwholesome and unclean luxuries of a great number of people who, moreover, do not pay the least attention to the annoyance which the repulsiveness of their habits may cause to those who have to swallow the smoke that issues from between decayed teeth, and who happen to step, by mishap, into pools of spittle that has flown in torrents from

diseased gums and glands, and who have even to take care that their clothes are not burned through by the glowing ashes and sparks that fall from the cigars or tobacco-pipes of careless smokers.

Tobacco smoking will certainly be banished from the enjoyments of a refined social community, and other useful industries will be reinforced by 14,000 additional hands, who will become disengaged by the suppression of tobacco smoking.

Should the desire for the enjoyment of this luxury, however, prove irresistible, the new social state will, in such an instance, grant the same facility to smokers as has been held out to those women who wish to indulge in the luxury of wearing silk dresses,—they will have to do all the work required for the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco, and even in the making of the tobacco-pipes. And this kind of labour they will only be permitted to perform when they have discharged their ordinary labours in the useful industries of the state.

Manufacture of Intoxicating Drinks.—The various kinds of labour and occupations connected with the production and distribution of these articles of vicious and luxurious consumption, require, as stated by Professor Leone Levi, a number of no less than 846,000 persons, classified in the following manner :—

Production of barley	60,000
" hops	12,000
Malting and brewing	66,000
Distilling and rectifying	6,000
Manufacture of corks, glass, and bottles	2,000
Bottling and coopering	100,000
Publichouses	600,000
<hr/>	
Total.	846,000

There is the greatest probability that the whole of these trades will be swept away by the current of sanitary reforms which the future social state will carry out at the recommendation of scientific and medical authorities.* Should they

* Dr. Richardson, in giving, at the Social Science Congress of 1875, an interesting description of "Hygeia, the Model City of Health," states the following :—"As we walk the streets of our model city, we notice first

condemn the use of alcoholic drinks, 840,000 persons will be restored to those branches of national industry where their additional work will be required in order to lessen that of others. Should the sanitary board, however, sanction the use of wine, beer, brandy, rum, whisky, and other spirits, it will be quite evident that it will be in moderate quantities only. It is also possible that the state may declare the consumption of alcoholic drinks a luxury; in which case the drinkers will have to do all the work required in the cultivation of barley and hops, in the malting and brewing, in the distilling and rectifying, in the cutting of cork and making of glass bottles, in the coopering and engineering. Coupling the test of labour with the desire of enjoyment, the drinkers will soon find out that the luxury is not worth the labour they have bestowed on its attainment.

As the above number given by Leone Levi includes the whole of the families of innkeepers, wine merchants, brewers maltsters, distillers, and hop growers, and as the number of children, wives, and relatives at home have already been reviewed in their relation to domestic work, the author puts the real active work required in the liquor traffic under the following heads:—

Cultivation of barley	60,000
Cultivation of hops	12,000
Brewing and malting	66,000
Distilling and rectifying	6,000
Coopering	10,000
Glass bottle making	2,000
Innkeepers	150,000

an absence of places for the public sale of spirituous liquors. Through all the workshops into which we pass, in whatever labour the men or women may be occupied—and the place is noted for its manufacturing industry—at whatever degree of heat or cold, strong drink is unknown. Practically, we are in a total abstainers' town, and a man seen intoxicated would be so avoided by the whole community, he would have no peace to remain. And, as smoking and drinking go largely together—as the two practices were, indeed, original exchanges of social degradations between the civilized man and the savage, the savage getting very much the worst of the bargain—so the practices largely disappear together. Pipe and glass, cigar and sherry cobler, like the Siamese twins, who could only live connected, have both died in our model city."

Inn servants	40,000
Cork cutters	2,000
Total	348,000

Of this grand total the number of 12,000 persons engaged in the cultivation of barley and hops has already been inserted amongst the agricultural labourers, and the brewing and malting, being to a great extent chemical works, have been already classified with the second series of factory labour. The innkeepers and innservants will also be more accurately placed amongst distributive labour.

The author has, however, departed from this strict classification, and has arranged the above table of employments contributing to the manufacture and distribution of intoxicating drinks, in order that the magnitude of the liquor trade may be seen at a glance, and the benefits anticipated that would accrue to society at large, if the 348,000 persons were handed over to other useful employments, by which the individual allotment of all would be very largely reduced.

The only deductions that, therefore, remain to be made from the total amount of labour of all the skilled trades are :—

The coopers, numbering	10,000
The glass bottle makers, „	2,000
The cork cutters, „	2,000
Or a total of	14,000

persons, representing 4,200,000 working-days; whilst the whole of the 348,000 persons who do the real active work in the liquor trade would give, as the amount of their yearly work, 104,400,000 working-days.

In proposing the suppression of the manufacture of intoxicating drinks, the author had merely in view the immense gain of 348,000 persons who, by being incorporated in other kinds of useful labour, would thus become one great means of reducing the hours of labour for the whole of the people. The now existing movement for the total suppression of the liquor traffic has to face the great difficulty of what is to become of

these 348,000 persons in case their trades are suppressed and their sources of subsistence dried up. The new social organization can instantly utilize them; but how will they fare in old society? Shall they be sacrificed for the common good? Great and legitimate is the universal outcry against drunkenness in this country, and everyone, even the drunkards themselves, join the various temperance, abstinence, and teetotal organizations in their constant and earnest advocacy of the suppression of this great vice; which, in this very year of enlightenment, progress, and civilization, is capable of debasing human nature into the lowest depth of degradation and misery; as is strikingly seen from the following description extracted from a correspondence in the *Daily News* of Saturday, October 3rd, 1874:—"King Work rules in Glasgow for five days, but the Saturday half-holiday ushers in the interregnum of King Whisky. Although it is not yet five o'clock, the growing sway of the drink-tyrant is everywhere apparent. The great dram-shop at the foot of the Trongate is in full blaze. The room on the first floor swarms so with men, women, and children, that to one looking up from below it seems as if they are absolutely stacked up against the windows. Below, panting barmen, toiling in their shirt sleeves, attest by their breathlessness that the draught is emphatically quick. It is not easy to squeeze one's way into the throng of drinkers in the public bar, consisting of frowsy men, slatternly women, ragged, stockingedless, palid-faced, preternaturally quick-eyed children. This, you see, is the public drinking, the *coram populo* saturnalia of those who care not who sees. Yonder, behind the wainscoted partitions, are the shut-in boxes, the drinking pens of Scotland, the private niches at the counter, where 'canny' folk sit and soak without being seen of men. These boxes are the haunts of 'respectable married women,' who would on no account be seen drinking at the public bar. Here are two coming out, with sodden faces and maudlin eyes. They quarrel at their own close mouth, and one claims, with a tipsy oath, her superiority over her less permanently biblical sister in that she 'was in a Bible-class for ten years.' As we saunter up the Trongate we are jostled at every step by people 'stoitering' along in the stolidly locomotive stage of drunkenness; who are not brutal or quarrelsome, or indeed apologetic, but who accept

their successive collisions with a half smile of vague abstraction complicated by hiccup. At a casual glance the entrance to each close appears flanked by caryatides, which, however on close inspection resolve themselves into human beings, who are cautious with a truly Scottish caution, who have realized that they have reached a state in which their legs are adequate no more for locomotion, but only for a modified and, so to speak, auxiliary support, and who lean accordingly on the sure support of the angle of the wall. The successive stages of the miserable gradus and diabolism which I watched as day merged into damp twilight, and twilight deepened into moist unwholesome night, might weary, and still more probably might disgust, your readers. There is a certain sameness in seeing men and women tumbling neat whisky down their throats, others tumbling in the gutters, and yet others lying there. Suppose we have a look at the Central Police Station. Eleven o'clock has just struck. Has there been a battle close by, and are these stalwart policemen who, marching by twos, converge so numerously on the police station, each pair with their seemingly inanimate burden, members of the burial party charged with the disposal of the dead into one common grave? There is a ghastliness to you and me about the work, but to the collectors of this human carrion themselves custom has brought familiarity. 'For a Saturday night there's hardly an average crop,' remarks a sergeant, as if drunken Glasgow were a farm, and Saturday night the season for the ripening of its chief harvest. Suppose we have a look at the barn in which is housed the crop of the plentifullness of which the sergeant has spoken thus depreciatingly. We ascend a broad winding stair, and passing through an iron grating on the first floor, are shown cell No. 1. The cells of the Glasgow Police Station have to be graduated in deference to the various phases of Glasgow drunkenness. There are the 'drunk cells,' the 'mad drunk cells,' the 'dead drunk cells,' and the 'dead cell.' It was a 'dead drunk cell,' the one we visited on the first floor. There was a huge blazing fire, guarded by iron bars, outside which the body of the cell was mainly occupied by a sloping wooden bed, on which two comatose men were being slowly roasted back into consciousness. The fire is for the behoof of creatures so far gone that it seems dangerous to put

them into a cold cell. But the fire and its guard have dangers of their own to those sufferers from slow returning lucidity of perception. Not long ago a man incarcerated in this cell, and prematurely restored to a measure of consciousness, crawled to the bars, got his head through, and was half roasted, half strangled, to death. Ascending to the second floor we enter, through a grating, a corridor which we find strongly patrolled, and are informed, in explanation, that two extra men are placed on duty here on Saturday night to watch that the prisoners don't fight or choke themselves. This corridor contains numerous cells of various sizes. This central station, it should have been said, has accommodation for over 400 prisoners. The turnkey opens cell No. 1, throwing his light into it. The floor is littered with five recumbent motionless forms, which might be those of swine or of men, for aught the spectator can distinguish, but that the material lying about is that of humanity, and become dimly apparent because of a groan or two and a muttered curse which vary the monotony of the gruntings and stupor. The next cell presents an aspect like that of the miscellaneous grave of a battlefield. The heap that cumbers its floor is a chaos which vaguely resolves itself into the form of some half-dozen men, but from the confusion of odd limbs it would be rash to affirm that there were not a few more than this number. In the three next cells the scene was mainly a repetition of what has been described ; but some of the inmates were too full of oaths and coarse language to sink into the drunken slumber which had overwhelmed their fellows. Then we came to the cells containing the drunken women, who were nearly as numerous as the drunken men. Some lay like dead logs ; others had laid aside the larger portion of their clouts, and 'rampaged' about their cells hideous travesties of womanhood. Wretches of all ages were there : the shrivelled, grey-haired crone, drunken, and most foul-mouthed of all, as she lay so near her grave that one shuddered lest she might die of old age before she could be released ; young women, not uncomely spite of their whisky-bleared eyes, bloated faces, and careless rags ; babies slumbering the sweet sleep of childhood on the bosoms of mothers whose motherhood and whose decency had been alike drowned in drink. One cell was a pandemonium itself, a pit of raging bedlamites. A woman

yelled blasphemy and obscenity as she swung a babe carelessly in her arms, a girl stripped to the waist shrieked back at her, and an old woman sat crooning a maudlin song on the floor. Another cell resembled the description of the well at Cawnpore, a heap of the not-to-be analysed *disjecta membra* of womanhood miserable, whose Nana Sahib was whisky. A few steps beyond these 'drunken cells,' and we were in the 'dead cell' itself; a veritable deadhouse, tenanted by three martyrs who had died in the service of their master—the drink. There lay the corpses, stiff, pale, and cold, while the odour of the destroyer still faintly hung about the mortuary. One man had been run over when drunk; a second had been found dead in a court after a debauch; and a third had died in the act of taking more of that of which he had already taken too much. Beyond the dead cell lay the mad-drunk cells, each tenanted by a single inmate, whose condition of drunkenness had been frantic and dangerous on admission, and to whom had therefore been assigned quarters in the Bedlam ward of this huge hospital for the votaries of whisky. Leaving this corridor we descended, meeting on the stairs the long unbroken procession of senseless candidates for admission. 'Take care of the wean,' cries somebody, as a woman, who is like a log of wood, but who still mechanically clings to a wretched child, is carried up. God pity the 'wean,' suckled on whisky, dandled in a police cell, matured in a slum! On leaving the police station I spent a couple of hours in the investigation of the inmost *penetralia* of the Glasgow slums. If it is true that social science must begin at home, it is clear that this first step has not so much as been thought of in the old and new wynds, the hovels and dens of which reek with sights that shock and disgust till the sense of horror, if the nerves are strong enough to stand the strain, become blunted by the fearful monotony of shamelessness and brutality. I wandered from one scene where drink-maddened women were tearing each other, to another where a drunken husband was mercilessly beating a drunken wife. I stumbled over drunken women littering the foul mud of the closes and common stairs; watched with sad eyes girls of tender years plying their loathsome trade; spent an hour shebeen hunting; and as I walked home sick in the small

hours, passed still men and women prowling wolf-like with stealthy steps about the courts and common stairs on the search for contraband drink which is called whisky, but which is really diluted vitriol."

That there is no exaggeration in the description of these scenes of drunkenness may be proved from the fact that the very same year in which this correspondent visited Glasgow, as many as 30,000 cases of drunkenness were dealt with by the police authorities of that city.

Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and Jewellers.—The skilled and very often artistic work of these trades will in future be greatly diminished, principally by the circumstance of the actual existence of so much plate and articles of jewellery as will suffice to provide the Associated Homes with an abundance of silver and gold table-service. Of jewellery and precious stones, now possessed by private persons and forming the stock of jewellers' shops and warehouses, a choice will be made by the state in ladies' earrings, bracelets, brooches, hair pins, finger-rings, and other trinkets for occasional use, to which permission will be given by the state to all women.

The superfluous articles of luxury in gold and silver will be melted down and made into serviceable plate.

The author does not despise jewellery when worn occasionally, especially by young women, and he suggests that the state shall for this purpose establish a national ward-robe or treasury, in which diamond earrings, pearl necklaces, and other jewellery will remain deposited, and from whence it will be distributed to young women at the occasion of festivals, at the celebration of coming of age, at the conclusion of marital unions, and at other times which the taste of a modest people will decide, with due consideration for the enjoyment of all. The future social state will in this manner find a means of satisfying that legitimate desire for adornment so universally prevalent in all women ; and even the rarity of some jewels—as, for instance, of diamonds and pearls—will be no obstacle to their general distribution, as only a certain small portion of the female population would, at one and the same time, be entitled to wear a modest display of jewellery on some rare and festive occasion, after which other parties would have an equal claim to the use of the same articles of adornment for another short period.

As no more new jewellery would be wanted, and as the re-setting and division of the now existing articles into smaller shape would soon be accomplished, the almost entire extinction of the trade of goldsmiths and jewellers, now numbering 15,000 workers, may be expected, and a remnant of 1000, left for executing the most necessary repairs, will be all that will remain of their present number.

The trade of *Toy-makers*, which now employs 2,000 persons, will become extinct, because children will in the future social state be taught how to make their own toys from materials provided for the purpose.

The author expects, however, that the early training in industrial and domestic labour will, in the future, interest children even more than any toys and playthings they could be provided with.

He is consequently altogether opposed to the present custom of giving to children ready made, highly finished, and ingenious toys. These mechanical playthings excite for a moment the wonder and curiosity of the children, but they soon pull them to pieces, or destroy them in wanton frolic. Toys of this kind rob the children also of the exercise of their own ingenuity in making playthings for themselves. This ill-advised kind of luxury seems, however, to flourish in great splendour, for in Thuringia 32,000 persons are employed in toy-making. Of brass and steel wire 30,000,000 feet are consumed annually in the toy manufacture of that part of Germany. Of dolls only, 2,000,000 dozen are exported. The toy manufacture in Paris alone employs 1,800 men, who daily earn six francs individually. The business done by the principals in the trade amounts to a value of about 10,000,000 francs. The costliness of some of the toys shows that they are intended for the children of the rich, who thus are early incited to that extravagant love of costly dresses and other finery which, in later years, often causes the ruin of whole families and entire households. Mr. Cremer, a toy merchant in Regent Street, London, issued, lately, a publication concerning the trade of toy-making, and in it is to be found the almost incredible fact that one dress in the trousseaux of a French doll cost 500 francs. The statement of this outrageous incitement to extravagancy and luxury most deservedly merits to be accompanied by the

observation that if anyone purchases this doll and her costly dresses for his children, he commits sinful luxury, or unpardonable folly.

It is related of the great socialist writer Proudhon, that when a friend one day brought a doll as a present to his two little girls, he absolutely refused to let them have it, declaring that dolls taught children laziness and coquetry, gave them a taste for luxury and languor, adding, "If you wish to make my daughters a present, give them something useful, a thimble, a pair of scissors, or a packet of needles, that they may be always reminded that they are the children of misery and philosophy, and must unceasingly devote their lives to work."

Of 5000 *Locksmiths*, 4000 will be dismissed, because private property being abolished, and money suppressed, and everyone being lodged, fed, and clothed by the state, there will be no necessity and not even any possibility for thieves to take property, money or jewellery, away; for it would be utterly impossible for them to dispose of stolen articles, or even to hide them. Under these circumstances lock and key may be removed from all doors, drawers, and boxes.* The only exceptions from this general absence of lock and key will be, first, in the closing of dwelling apartments, where they may serve to prevent visitors entering at a time when the occupants wish to be left alone; and, second, in the closing of the national storehouses, repositories, and workshops for the mere reason of regulating the admission of the public to these establishments.

The *Butchers*, now numbering 68,000, will, most probably, be reduced to 30,000; for the meat will be sent in large joints or in quarters of carcasses to the Associated Homes, without undergoing the minute chopping and trimming process of the present retail butchers.

The greatest reduction will, perhaps, take place in the *Building Trades*; although they may at the advent of the new social order be rather fully employed or even need an increase;

* "The people of Icaria have no need to lock their doors, for there are neither thieves nor drunkards amongst them."—M. CABET.

At Mettray, the celebrated penitentiary establishment, founded by M. de Metz, bars and bolts are renounced.

for they will have to construct the new Associated Homes and erect national workshops and storehouses. But when these are finished, one-tenth part of the number of persons now employed in these trades will suffice for the repairing and renovating of all buildings :—

These trades number—

Brick-makers	39,000
Cement and plaster-makers	1,000
Bricklayers	79,000
Carpenters and joiners	177,000
Masons	84,000
Plasterers	18,000
Painters, plumbers	74,000
Slaters, tilers.	5,000
Paperhangers	2,000
Builders	15,000
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Total	494,000,

or in round numbers 500,000 persons, of whom 450,000 will become superfluous, if 50,000 only are required.

Adding finally together the whole of the partial reductions and total suppressions of trades arrived at in skilled labour, viz. :—

Bread-making	44,000
Boot-making	190,000
Brick-making	29,000
Washerwomen's work	187,000
Tailoring and dress-making	273,000
Blacksmith's work	48,000
Artificial flower-making	5,000
Hairdressing	11,000
Stay and corset-making	11,000
Hat-making	13,000
Coach-building	18,000
Harness-making	13,000
Cabinet-making	31,000
Tobacco manufacture	14,000
Liquor trade	14,000

Jeweller's work	14,000
Toy-making	2,000
Lock and key-making	4,000
Butcher's work	38,000
Building trades	450,000
A total of	1,409,000

is obtained, representing 420,000,000 working-days, which deducted from the total of all skilled labour, amounting to 1,200,000,000 working-days, leaves a sum of 780,000,000, which if shared by 12,000,000 people would not be more than 65 days annually per individual; and if to these 10 more days are added for domestic labour, and 18 more for factory work, and 4 more for mining and general labour, it will be found that the whole amount of labour required of 12,000,000 persons, qualified for work, is really not more than 97 working-days per individual, or in round numbers 3 months each year.*

This period of work, if slightly increased to 100 days, represents exactly one-third of the 300 working-days the hardworking artizan or labourer has now to accomplish in the space of each year, and which he so persistently endeavours to reduce to a smaller number.

An objection might here be raised concerning the great increase of locomotion by rail and otherwise which the frequent transfer of all adult and able-bodied citizens to their respective centres of industry will annually necessitate. The following calculation will, however, suffice to allay these fears.

Out of a population of 30,000,000 people there will be 20,000,000 adults employed in agriculture, manufactures, mining, navigation, handicrafts, etc. If 10 journeys are allowed annually to each person, 200,000,000 journeys will be required. This will still favourably contrast with the present mode of

* Nearly a hundred years ago a similar computation was made; for Benjamin Franklin, in his letter to Benjamin Vaughan, dated at Passy, July 26th, 1784, says:—"It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that, if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessities and comforts of life, want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure."

wasteful locomotion by rail ; for it is stated that in the year 1874 the number of passengers who travelled on the railways of the United Kingdom amounted to not less than 480,000,000, and that a large part of the population took at least two journeys a day, or 700 in the year.

CHAPTER XXXV.—DISTRIBUTIVE LABOUR.

THIS kind of labour comprises all those occupations and employments which now carry out the distribution of produce by means of wholesale and retail traders, the former of which are also the regular agents for the importation and exportation of all articles of merchandise.

Of all the various classes of labour, the distribution of produce is the easiest to be learned, and is also, with very few exceptions, the least dangerous. Distributive labour is therefore eminently suited for equal distribution, and in allotting it to the population, especial care will be taken that the easiest shares fall upon the aged workmen, who have already discharged their duty of national labour during the period of their athletic age. Allotments of an easy nature may be found amongst the supervision of the national storerooms and magazines, and also amongst all those occupations in which the retail dealers are now usually engaged.

Some kind of labour required in the distribution of produce is, however, of a very heavy and dangerous nature, although not difficult to learn. Work of this kind, for instance, is the occupation of porters, packers, carmen, dock labourers, railway servants and of all those engaged in the service of the mercantile marine on seas and canals. But as all heavy and dangerous work has, by its very nature, the first claim on equal distribution, all these employments will be subjected to the universal law of distribution by casting the lot ; for the inducement of gain being withdrawn by the abolition of money, and the earning of any wages, high or low, having thereby become an impossibility, nothing but a profound feeling of solemn duty will, in the future, incite men to do the work of the sailor, the

bargeman, the porter, the carman, and dock labourer; and if this feeling of duty should not provide the required number in each branch of work, the principle of compulsory distribution of labour will have to be arrived at by the casting of the lot.

It may, however, be presumed that it will, universally, happen that the lot will have to be cast because there will be too great a number presenting themselves to take part in this kind of labour.

The intellectual labour that is now performed by the commercial agents, factors, merchants, and their clerks, will also admit of an easy distribution; because every member of the new social community having enjoyed the best possible education, will be at once fitted for the work by which the distribution of produce is regulated. Moreover, the work of the office will be greatly simplified, as it will be relieved from the intricacy of complicated book-keeping and calculations of gains, profits, assets, and liabilities, debtor and creditor accounts, etc.; the mere entry of the quantity and quality of articles and goods received or distributed being all that will be required, without mentioning any price, profits, or losses.

The distribution of produce is now performed by the following number of persons:—

Shipping on seas and rivers	200,000
Grocers	94,000
Porters, messengers, errand boys	75,000
Butchers, meat salesmen	68,000
Carmen, draymen	68,000
Commercial clerks	56,000
Drapers, mercers	58,000
House proprietors	36,000
Shipping on canals	35,000
Hawkers, pedlars	21,000
Bargemen, lightermen	31,000
Dock labourers	33,000
Railway service	30,000
Storage, meting, packing	24,000
Warehousemen	22,000
Lodging-house keepers	20,000
Coal-heavers	18,000

Greengrocers	18,000
Costermongers	18,000
Milksellers	18,000
Chemists, druggists	16,000
Confectioners, pastry cooks	15,000
Shopkeepers (branch undefined)	14,000
Merchants	13,000
Commercial travellers	12,000
Coal merchants, dealers	13,000
Provision curers	11,000
Fishmongers	11,000
Corn merchants	10,000
Ironmongers	10,000
Booksellers.	8,000
Shopmen, women (branch undefined)	8,000
Factors, agents	8,000
Hosiers, haberdashers	7,000
Accountants	7,000
Stationers	7,000
Timber merchants	6,000
Clothiers, outfitters	6,000
Pawnbrokers	6,000
China, glass dealers	5,000
Cattle, sheep dealers	5,000
Stone merchants	5,000
Cheesemongers	5,000
Marine store dealers	5,000
Omnibus, cab owners	4,000
Coffee, eating-house keepers	4,000
Auctioneers	4,000
Wine merchants	4,000
Wire merchants	4,000
Wood dealers	4,000
Rag gatherers, dealers	4,000
Manchester warehousemen	4,000
Furniture brokers, dealers	4,000
Colour, oilmen	2,400
Steam navigation service	2,000
Shipbrokers, agents	2,600
Brokers	2,900

Coal agents	2,000
Salesmen, women	2,300
Game dealers, poulters	2,800
Flower, fruit hawkers	2,600
Newsvendors	2,800
Insurance societies' officers	2,800
Woolstaplers	2,300
Rent collectors, house agents	1,800
Share, stock brokers	1,100
Hardware dealers	1,200
Shipowners	1,600
Wharfingers	1,500
Stuff merchants	1,500
Meal, seed merchants	1,600
Ship stewards	1,500
Flour agents, dealers	1,900
Law stationers	1,200
Horse proprietors	1,200
Potato merchants	1,400
Pig merchants, dealers	1,400
Hay and straw dealers	1,800
Cloth merchants	1,400
Coal owners	1,000
Iron merchants	800
Calico dealers	800
Music publishers	600
Bank officers	600
Drysalters	600
Hop merchants	600
Bill stickers	600
Stevedores	550
Salt merchants, agents	400
Ballast heavers	400
Ship chandlers	490
Capitalists	500
Cotton waste dealers	500
Slate dealers	400
Egg merchants	350
Fancy goods importers	300
Picture dealers	300

Ship labourers	300
Herbalists	390
Straw plait dealers	260
Cotton warehousemen	300
Ticket writers	300
Oyster dealers, sellers	300
Coffee roasters and dealers	300
Railway agents	240
Bazaar stall keepers	290
Paper merchants	110
Officers of commercial societies	140
Ribbon dealers	116
Lumpers, hobblers	100
Carpet dealers	127
Woollen merchants	111
Linen dealers, factors	126
Chip, sawdust dealers	153
Catsmeat vendors	100
Lighthouse keepers	158
Actuaries	100
Assayers	93
Book agents, hawkers	97
Public notaries	60
Sign writers, painters	86
Loan office managers	80
Sponge merchants	77
Spice merchants	72
Scrap iron dealers	76
Hide skin merchants	73
Shipping masters	76
Saddlers' ironmongers	66
Woollen waste dealers	63
General dealers	64
Bark dealers	60
Clay merchants	60
Curiosity dealers	56
Inspectors of shipping	56
Hair merchants, dealers	44
Yarn dealers	42
Building material dealers	44

Silk fancy goods dealers	45
Flax dealers, agents	40
Scriveners	30
Money-lenders, bill discounters	30
Divers	33
Coal shippers	21
Shawl warehousemen	27
Worsted merchants	20
Worsted waste dealers	24
Muslin agents	28
Navy agents	26
See reeves	23
Flint dealers	24
Ice merchants	24
Cork merchants	17
Lead merchants	15
Glass factors, agents	16
Marble merchants	16
Carriage brokers	19
Printers' brokers	11
Wastepaper dealers	18
Soot dealers	12
Gravel merchants	12
Birmingham warehousemen	12
Mineral dealers	18
Cotton print dealers	20
Honey dealers	3
Flannel merchants	6
Cotton warp agents	5
Drapers', milliners' stand makers	4
Medical glass dealers	3
Antiquaries	10
Ancient coin dealers	3
Donkey dealers	3
Silk waste dealers	3
Paperhanging dealers	3
Cotton yarn dealers	8
Grand Total	1,239,608
Or in round figures	1,200,000

This total of 1,200,000 persons represents mostly heads of families, especially those of the commercial and shopkeeping classes, not a few of whom are very rich people, and keep a large household, with many servants.

Considering this circumstance, the 1,200,000 heads of families represent each a number of at least five persons on an average, and in the aggregate 6,000,000 people, or nearly the third part of the whole population. That in a very advanced state of civilization and economical progress such an enormous number of persons should be enabled to live by the comparatively easy occupation of distributing produce, is a monstrous anomaly; for, not only is the number of the real productive classes, with their families included, comparatively small, amounting to only 10,000,000 persons, but these have also to perform all the heavy and dangerous work.

This unjust disproportion between those who are engaged in distributive and productive labour is, not only apparent in their aggregate numbers, but also discoverable in every particular branch of the mercantile and trading classes. In order to furnish some proofs, the author will only scrutinize in detail the number of grocers, butchers, and coal merchants. The census of 1861 enumerates 94,000 grocers in 20,000,000 inhabitants. If these are put down in the round number of 100,000 it will give a proportion of *one* grocer to every 200 persons of the population. The anomaly of the disproportion of the small number of 200 customers to one dealer becomes the more monstrous, when compared with the economy that the future social state will effect in the distribution of produce.

Each Associated Home accommodating 1,000 persons will have one grocery store attached to it, and as 20,000,000 people will be lodged in 20,000 Associated Homes, there will consequently only be required 20,000 grocery stores; which being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the kitchen, and communicating with it, will scarcely require an attendant, for the cooks themselves will fetch groceries from the store as occasion may require; and if an attendant were needed in the grocery store, 20,000 of them will easily do the work which is now done by 100,000 grocers and their shopmen. The number of 12,000 coal merchants and 18,000 coal heavers is likewise an exorbitant disproportion between easy and laborious

occupations. The number of butchers compared with the number of the whole population is also out of all reasonable proportion; for if 68,000 butchers, according to the census, serve 20,000,000 people, every butcher will have to sell and distribute meat to 273 persons; but as there are amongst these many infants, children, and persons, including 2,000,000 of the agricultural labourers, and nearly 1,000,000 of paupers, who seldom or never taste butcher's meat, the number of persons who consume meat is more likely to be 200 customers to one butcher; and if each of them eats half a pound of meat per day, each butcher will have to distribute 100 lbs. of meat daily, which certainly will not be a very laborious task for him.

The excess in the number of persons now engaged in the distribution of grocery, meat, and coal, will at once indicate the great reductions that will become practicable in the new organization of distributive labour. Entire branches of employments and occupations now engaged in the transactions of money-leading, discounting bills, insuring properties and lives, dealing in shares and funds, loans on pledges, valuations, etc., will become extinct in consequence of the abolition of money. The conversion of private property into national will do away with all owners of property, rent-collectors, auctioneers, etc. By the suppression of luxury, many trades will become greatly diminished, and others totally destroyed. The latter will especially be the case with the numerous confectioners and pastry cooks, who now administer to a depraved taste by selling unwholesome and adulterated articles of luxury.

Through the institution of the Associated Home, all lodging-houses will become superfluous.

An estimate of all the reductions resulting from the abolition of money, property, luxury, and isolated homes, is presented in the following list:—

House proprietors	36,000
Lodging-house keepers	20,000
Confectioners	15,000
Factors	8,600
Pawnbrokers	6,000
Auctioneers	4,000

Accountants	6,000
Omnibus and cab owners	4,000
Furniture brokers	4,000
Shipbrokers	2,600
Brokers	2,900
Stock brokers	2,800
House agents and rent collectors	1,800
Insurance societies' officers	1,700
Shipowners	1,600
Horse proprietors	1,200
Bankers	1,400
Coal owners	1,000
Bank officers	600
Capitalists	464
Loan office managers	80
Bill discounters	30
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Total	121,774
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Deducting 121,774 from the grand total of the whole of the distributing classes, the number of 1,117,834 remains, representing employments, all of which admit of extensive reductions. These reductions will greatly benefit those who perform the real hard work in the distribution of produce, and of whom the following list contains their present numbers:—

The real workers in the distribution of produce.

Seamen	200,000
Porters	75,000
Carmen	68,000
Commercial clerks	56,000
Employed on canals	35,000
Bargemen	31,000
Dock labourers	33,000
Railway servants	30,000
Employed in storage and packing	24,000
Warehousemen	22,000

Coal heavers	18,000
Commercial travellers	12,000
Steam navigation service	2,000

Total	606,000

Deducting the number of 606,000 real workers from 1,117,000, there remain 511,000 persons,—representing the whole of the commercial and shopkeeping class, who will even experience a much greater reduction in their numbers than the real workers.

The reductions that will take place in both of these classes will chiefly be caused by a general diminution of foreign trade. In how far the distribution of produce will be economized at home by the concentration of workshops and dwellings has already been pointed out; but to what degree the import and export trade is capable of diminution will be seen from a perusal of the remarks made in relation to the following list of imports and exports as they stood in 1871:—

<i>Exports.</i>	<i>£</i>
Cotton goods	72,000,000
Mineral produce	53,000,000
Woollen manufactures	43,000,000
Linen manufactures	7,000,000
Leather manufactures	2,000,000
Animal substances—bacon, hams, beef, pork, candles, cheese, fish, horns . . .	2,000,000
Paper and stationery	1,000,000

	£182,000,000

<i>Imports.</i>	<i>£</i>
Cotton	54,759,000
Corn	34,169,000
Silk and silk goods	24,341,000
Sugar	17,597,000
Wool	15,812,000

	<i>Imports.</i>	£
Wood	13,769,000
Tea	10,097,000
Dyestuffs	6,863,000
Butter	6,793,000
Flax	5,979,000
Wines	4,817,000
Coffee	4,942,000
Living animals	4,371,000
Guano	3,476,000
Cheese	3,274,000
Spirits	3,218,000
Fruit of all kinds	3,065,000
Woollen manufactures	3,362,000
Rice	2,310,000
Tobacco	2,169,000
Skins and furs	2,071,000
Hemp	2,063,000
Bacon and hams	1,769,000
Eggs	1,102,000
Woollen yarn	1,635,000
Glass	931,000
Spices	485,000
Currants	850,000
Lard	727,000
Fish	768,000
Pork	799,000
Watches	631,000
Oranges and lemons	648,000
Raisins	550,000
Chicory	588,000
Ivory	439,000
Hops	428,000
Woollen rags	400,000
Cowhair	411,000
Onions	390,000
Cocoa and Chocolate	386,000
Candles	376,000
Bristles	366,000
Potatoes	245,000

<i>Imports.</i>	£
Poultry, game	158,000
Feathers (for beds)	108,000
Ostrich feathers	176,000
Sponge	160,000
Sago	45,000
Figs	72,000
Pearls	50,000
Pickles	32,000
Lucifers	44,000
Total of Imports	£256,045,000
,, of Exports	£182,000,000
Total of Imports and Exports	£438,045,000

The average total value of imports and exports from 1872 to 1875 being £487,000,000, the above sum of £438,045,000 shows a deficiency of £50,000,000 owing to the omission of many articles of merchandise. But of those enumerated in the preceding list, there will scarcely be one that will not allow of great reductions in its quantity. In order to effect these reductions, we must condemn, in the first instance, the excess of exports, which deprives the people at home of the benefits they should derive from the products of the great staple manufactures of the nation.

The greater number of the working classes of this country seem to be the mere tools used in conjunction with machinery to create an immense quantity of manufactured goods, which when exported and sold in foreign countries, produce an enormous amount of wealth for the manufacturers, merchants, and traders, without effecting any adequate improvement in the condition of the great bulk of the population. The real workers in this wealth-creating process derive only a scant subsistence from their gigantic labour, and are, in fact, not far in advance of the toiling multitudes who built the pyramids of Egypt, and who, at least, enjoyed the gratification of contemplating, in the results of their handiwork, imperishable monuments of greatness, which, like the pyramids, sphinxes,

obelisks, colossal statues, temples, and tombs hewn in solid granite rocks, were destined to be handed down to posterity, and to become the wonders of the world; whilst the operative of modern manufactories sees nothing of the wealth he has been instrumental in creating, and has but a hazy and imperfect conception of the magnitude of the work to which he contributes his share. The poor cotton operative who spins many thousand yards of cotton thread every minute, or even every second, is deprived of any gratification he might experience in seeing a grand and magnificent work; for of the enormous length of the cotton thread spun in every minute, and which would wind four times round this earth of ours, he has not even seen the millionth part of its extent.

By the excess in the exportation of cotton cloth, a great injury is committed on the whole of the people; for it deprives them of some of the most necessary articles of clothing and domestic use, in the shape of shirts, petticoats, dresses, bed-clothes, etc., whilst, on the other hand, a fictitious progress is exhibited in the enormous exports of cotton goods, which in 1872 reached the fabulous amount of £80,000,000.

To prove this great wrong the author applies the following calculation. There are in the United Kingdom 400,000 power-looms at work, weaving cotton cloth. They produce 10,000,000 yards per day, which in 300 working-days makes an annual amount of 3,000,000,000 yards. Of this immense production, 2,700,000,000 yards are exported, leaving for home consumption 300,000,000 yards; which, when distributed amongst 30,000,000 people, will only provide ten yards of calico for each individual. It must further be observed that the amount of 3,000,000,000 yards per annum is the highest estimate, and that in reality it does not quite amount to that sum; for there are at times a great number of power-looms standing idle (in 1871 as many as 35,600). Considering, further, the various uses of cotton cloth in window blinds, sacking, linings, etc., it is quite evident that ten yards per individual are an insufficient amount of consumption; for a couple of shirts alone will require seven yards of calico.*

* In the year 1846 a reporter of the *Morning Post* stated the following facts:—"A weaver of Barnsley informed me that he generally wove in a day 180 yards of calico, twenty-two inches wide. If this man were em-

The same excess of foreign exportation and deficient home consumption may equally be proved in the woollen manufactures. The Rivers Commission in 1864 estimates the total products of the woollen manufactures at £64,000,000. From this sum the following exports are to be deducted:—

	£
Flannels	397,000
Blankets	631,000
Carpets	1,650,000
Shawls	300,000
Worsted stuffs.	17,953,000
Hosiery	982,000
Woollen manufactures	5,568,000
Woollen yarn	6,101,000
 Total	 £43,582,000

This sum, if deducted from the total produce, leaves £21,000,000 for home consumption, thus allowing only fourteen shillings worth of woollen goods to each person; which, for a man, will scarcely buy a pair of trousers, or a shawl for a woman; and if one considers the extensive use of cloth in other works besides clothing, as for instance the lining of first class railway carriages, of innumerable private carriages, cloth coverings for horses and dogs, etc., it is evident that the home consumption of cloth to be made into garments is quite insufficient.

If the home consumption of cotton cloth were 600,000,000 yards, it would allow twenty yards to each individual of the whole population; and if the exports were reduced from 2,700,000,000 yards to 1,400,000,000, the imports of raw cotton could be reduced by one-third (from £54,000,000 to £36,000,000).

ployed twelve hours a day for a year (deducting Sundays), he would produce 56,340 yards of calico, which would provide 2,349 men with six shirts each, allowing four yards to the shirt. And yet this man had nothing on him that could be called a shirt! A hand-loom weaver in Dewsbury makes forty pair of blankets in a week, and he has not for many years enjoyed the luxury of such an article of bed furniture!"

If the home consumption of woollen manufactures were £42,000,000 instead of £21,000,000, and if their exports were reduced by two-thirds, from £60,000,000 to £20,000,000, the total production would be the same (£62,000,000), and the £20,000,000 exports would still purchase £15,000,000 worth of wool, which is the quantity now imported.

The excess in the exportation of mineral produce, of linen and leather manufactures, is probably as great, and, if only reduced by one-third, will largely assist in the reduction of labour both in the production, carrying, and shipping of goods.

Excessive exports are largely the result of excessive imports. The latter are chiefly caused by a craving for the satisfaction of luxurious habits in cloth, finery, food, drinks, and stimulants.* The defective state of agriculture necessitates, also, large imports of corn, bread-stuff, and cattle.

By the abolition of luxury the following articles will either be totally struck off the list of imports, or will be greatly reduced. Silk and silk manufactures, which are now imported to the value of £24,000,000, will most decidedly be reduced to the minimum sum of £4,000,000, which will suffice to purchase the raw material for the spinning of sewing silk, and the manufacture of some other indispensable articles. As the home consumption of silk, especially in dresses, is very large, some excuses have been urged for the indulgence in this luxury; but the author will mention only one fact, which ought to prevent the wearing of silk dresses, and that is the difficulty of washing or cleaning them,—a disadvantage far outweighing all other reasons which have been advanced for the preference of wearing silk.

With the extinction of the silk manufactures, the importation of dye-stuffs, now valued at £6,863,000, will also become

* "Look round the world and see the millions employed in doing nothing or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessaries and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives by the constant dangers of the sea? How much labour is spent in building and fitting great ships to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the West Indies for sugar, to America for tobacco? Those things cannot be called the necessaries of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

greatly reduced, and as the dyeing and printing of calico will also be confined to some very common and simple colours and patterns, they will not require more than a third of the above sum. The excessive use of red dye in silk, cotton, and woollen cloth, is especially to be deprecated; because red is of all colours the most hurtful to the eye, and the removal of this extravagant expenditure of £581,000, on cochineal alone, will be a great saving to the nation.*

Of £2,071,000 paid for skins and furs, half the amount is probably spent on costly furs, which, if used in the trimming of ladies' dresses, are mere objects of the luxurious display of wealth; for neither does the climate of England require any such protection against cold, nor are the furs so placed on the garments that they can afford warmth. The bad adaptation of the use of furs is nowhere more prominent than in ladies' muffs, in which the warm fur is placed outside, for the mere sake of show, to the deprivation of real comfort which it would afford were the fur placed inside the muff, with some soft leather or cloth covering outside.†

We cannot drop the subject of luxury in furs without pleading mercy even on behalf of the brute creation. It has been long known that seals are the most affectionate and intelligent animals, tenderly fond of their young, and capable—like the poor beast so long familiar to the visitors in the Zoological Gardens—of singular attachment to a humane keeper. What does the reader think of the picture drawn by Captain Gray, commander of the *Eclipse* steamer, of the behaviour of the Scotch seal-fishers, who annually sail to the neighbourhood of the island of Jan Mayan, in Lat. 73 North, for the capture

* The Spartans did not suffer dyers to reside in the city, for they considered coloured clothes as so much good wool spoiled.

† “ Bryan O’Lynn had no breeches to wear;
He bought a sheep’s skin and made him a pair,
With the skinny side out and the woolly side in;
‘They’re pleasant and cool!’ said Bryan O’Lynn.”

These lines form part of a comic poem which the celebrated Dr. Kenealy has translated into many dead and living languages. In this feat he stands on a par with Herr Auer, the director of the Imperial Printing Establishment of Austria, who has done the same thing with the Lord’s Prayer.

of these creatures ? The harpooners choose a place where the young are lying, knowing that the mothers will soon come to see if the young are safe, when they shoot them without mercy. This sort of work goes on a few days, till tens of thousands of young seals are left motherless, to die of starvation (40,000 old ones were killed last year, in March). It is horrible to see the young ones trying to suck the carcases of their mothers, their eyes starting out of their sockets. They crawl over and over them, no doubt wondering why they do not feed them. The noise they make is dreadful. If one could imagine oneself surrounded by four or five hundred thousand human babies, all crying together, he would have some idea of it, for the tiny seal's cries are very much like those of a child.

These motherless seals lie at last in groups of four or five, dying upon the ice ; their heads becoming the largest part of their bodies as they starve slowly to death. It is suggested that this atrocious system of procuring the skins of seals should be prevented by securing by international treaty a close time for the seals while they are rearing their young. But the author argues that, for the sake of luxury alone, man has no right to dispose of the lives of brute animals, and in no case is he justified to inflict pain and torture on them, when this can be avoided.*

Ostrich feathers are another article of luxury, the import of which is estimated at £176,000, and for which feathers of indigenous birds—of the cock, for instance—could be fitly substituted; and no objection could reasonably be raised against this substitute, for the feathers of the cock adorn even the hat of the general.

“ Plumes ! pearls ! that gem Beauty’s diadem ;
Unguents ! that perfume give it !
Your pomp and grace is the refuse base
Of the ostrich, oyster, and civet !

Of feathers for beds £108,000 worth are imported. But as the unhealthy featherbeds will everywhere be superseded by spring mattresses and flock beds, this expensive material will certainly fall into disuse, and give way to beds that can quickly

* “ The righteous man careth for his beast.”

be made, which is so much more desirable as everyone will have to make his own bed.

The immense importation of fruit, amounting in value to £3,065,000, is also chiefly destined to administer to luxurious and so-called high living, or is called into requisition as a substitute for home-grown fruit. The distribution of food by the state will in the future greatly curtail luxury in the consumption of fruit; and as its cultivation, in orchards and hothouses, will be one of the principal cares of the small farmers in the future social state, the importation of £274,000 worth of apples, of £14,000 worth of cherries, of £20,000 worth of raw pears, of £131,000 worth of pine apples and melons, of £87,000 worth of grapes, of £42,000 worth of walnuts and other fruit can be dispensed with. Currants and raisins, which figure in the list of imports at £850,000 and £550,000 respectively, are mere articles of luxury; and although plum-puddings have become a national dish of the English, this most indigestible of all preparations of human food is probably the real cause of indigestion—a complaint so often heard of in England. Requiring, moreover, an extraordinary long time for boiling, the preparation of this favourite dish causes the waste of a great amount of fuel. This circumstance alone will, in the future social state, be a sufficient reason to banish plum-pudding forever from the table of the Associated Home.

Ivory, which costs the nation £428,000, is also largely administering to luxury, and creates a needless waste of labour in the process of carving and polishing it. It is monstrous that the yearly importation of ivory into England alone should necessitate the annual slaughter of 500,000 elephants; an animal destruction which is the more lamentable as these beasts are capable of being domesticated and rendered highly useful to man.

The annual importation of pearls, costing £50,000, could be stopped at once, for there are already plenty of them existing in this country, and will, when once deposited in the national treasury and wardrobe, be found more numerous than will be wanted for their occasional wear by all women.

The suppression of the use of intoxicating drinks will remove from the list of imports, wine worth £4,817,000, and spirits worth £3,218,000.

The suppression of tobacco smoking* will save £2,169,000.

By the improved system of agriculture as described in a former chapter, all the corn, potatoes, etc., can be grown in sufficient quantities in this country, and butter, cheese, lard, eggs, pork, and bristles, can be obtained from home-farm produce. A more extensive breeding and fattening of cattle, especially by stable feeding on the one side, and a reasonable reduction in the consumption of animal food and extensive limitation of so-called high living on the other, will, in the future, result in the suppression of the importation of living animals, and £4,371,000 will be saved.

The small farm homesteads, coupled with stable feeding, will, moreover, produce an abundance of manure, and the importation of £3,476,000 of guano can be left off.

All these extensive reductions, just mentioned, are in the aggregate so large, that the necessary imports and exports in the future social state will only amount to one-tenth of their present quantity. In consequence of this, the whole amount of distributive labour of the real workers—of sailors, porters, carmen, dock-labourers, packers, and of all those who direct the distribution of produce—will be enormously diminished:—

Of these the hard-working classes amount to	606,000
Those engaged in the less laborious task of distributing produce amount to . . .	511,000
Total . . .	1,117,000

This number will certainly be reduced to 100,000, which, calculated at 300 working-days per individual, will represent labour to the amount of 30,000,000 working-days, or one day annually for each person of the whole of 30,000,000 inhabitants.

* M. Alexandre Dumas used to be a great smoker; but one day, being at a bachelor's dinner, he heard a doctor descant upon the evils which come from the excessive use of tobacco—mental apathy, loss of reason, etc. He had got half through a cigar when the doctor began; he laid it down there and then unfinished, and although this happened twenty years ago, he has never lit another since.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—EDUCATIONAL LABOUR.

THIS kind of labour, which now is generally understood to be the work of the schoolmaster only, will in the future state of society comprise all manner of teaching, not only in elementary schools, but also in the workshop, factory, mine, on the farm, on the training ship, and in the art studio.

The work of teaching will be obligatory on all; and as every person in the new social state has himself had the very best instruction in industry, science, and art, very few will be disqualified for performing their duty as teachers. Besides, many will even find a pleasure in imparting their skill and knowledge to others. What is pleasure to some will be done by others from a sense of duty, either to lessen the tedious work of those who teach elementary subjects—a monotonous kind of labour—or to promote progress in arts and sciences; and in this latter case the artists and scientific men of the new social state will greatly differ from those of the present day, who are rather anxious of keeping the secrets of their arts and sciences to themselves. A celebrated English painter, of the so-called pre-Raphaelite school, is alleged to have said that he would not let guinea secrets out for five shillings, and persistently refused to accept pupils into his studio. How different will, in this respect, be the sentiment of artists in the future! The inducements now held out by the acquisition of wealth being removed by the abolition of money, the sordid feeling of monopoly in art and science will also disappear, and those who invent any novel method of executing works of art will, on the contrary, find the greatest pleasure in propagating and immortalizing their methods.

The fundamental principles which will form the basis of all education in the future social state will be the following five:—1. Primary education to be compulsory. 2. In order to evoke genius or special aptitudes,* all primary education will include instruction in the rudiments of sciences and arts. 3. Even the very first steps in primary education are to be

* “Education is eminently calculated to call forth the latent energies of the mind, and to develop the idiosyncrasies of character.”—ROBERT OWEN.

accompanied by industrial training, such as the knowledge and handling of tools used in the various trades, in order to prepare all children for the apprenticeship in the national workshops, in which industrial training is further perfected. 4. A general diffusion of arts and sciences by means of art training schools and scientific institutions is to be intrusted to a numerous staff of professors and teachers. 5. The full development of the bodily frame and muscular activity is to be promoted by frequent drilling, gymnastic exercises, and athletic games.

It has already been stated in a previous chapter that in the future social state all children will be lodged, boarded, clothed, and educated in Government establishments. There will, however, not be enforced any arbitrary confinement of the pupils in these schools, but frequent intercourse between parents and children will be permitted; and the pupils will have to take daily exercise by short walks in the surrounding districts, and excursions at intervals into more distant localities.

Having stated the principal outlines of the educational system which is to prevail in the future, the author will now treat of the performance of the educational work, and its universal obligation on all adult persons of both sexes.

An equal division of teaching amongst all those qualified for educational work will ensure great advantages, both for teachers and pupils. It will greatly lessen the time which every teacher has to pass amongst a number of children, the exhalations of whom must inevitably vitiate, to some degree, the air in the loftiest and best ventilated schoolroom.

The performance of teaching by alternate relays of teachers will render the work more interesting both to teachers and pupils; and the latter will, moreover, have the more tedious work of book learning diversified by the instruction in industry and trades of all kinds. All industrial apprenticeship being transferred to the public schools, where all children will be taught by qualified workmen, the teaching of all skilled labour will be of the most efficient kind; because every new teacher will be able to impart to the apprentices some new or peculiar method of handling a tool, or manipulating a certain process of labour in the quickest and surest manner. Model workshops and model factories will be erected adjacent to the

public schools; or the pupils will be transferred for some time to localities where they can be taught certain manufactures and occupations that cannot be brought into the neighbourhood of the schools; as, for instance, the training for service at sea, or work in mines. Instruction in agricultural labour will, however, always be accessible for all the public schools; for the latter will, for sanitary reasons, be situated in the country.

The inculcation of useful and diversified work will accustom the young people of both sexes to the performance of that sacred duty of work without which they, when entering adult citizenship, would forfeit their right of existence; for the inexorable law that "those who will not work neither shall they eat" will be mercilessly enforced throughout the whole of the social state.

Art training also will not offer any difficulty; for as all elementary book-learning and industrial instruction is already combined with the practice of sciences and arts in their rudiments, the final perfection in any art or science, for which a pupil has shown a decided liking and talent, will be in the highest degree satisfactory, not only to the tutors, but also highly promotive of the progress of arts and sciences in general. In teaching sciences and art in their rudiments to young scholars, genius and peculiar talents will be discovered, and that great wrong which now deprives so many amongst the working classes of the opportunity of testing their special aptitudes to certain arts and sciences, and of evoking their genius, will no longer exist.

Indeed, it would be a great insult to the large number of the working classes to assume that all those of their rank who have not risen to great eminence and fame as engineers, mathematicians, chemists, painters, sculptors, actors, musicians, poets, etc., have remained in a humble and inferior station of life, because they have had no talents and aptitudes whatever.

We think the contrary to be the case, and sincerely regret that amongst a number of 246,000 coal-miners alone, thousands of great artists and scientific men would have come forth had they enjoyed that system of education and rudimentary training in arts and instruction in sciences which will prevail in the future state of society. The author, therefore, protests in the most solemn manner against the practice, which, under

the present social arrangement, deprives the intellectually and artistically inclined mind of working men and women of its natural development, and shuts it out from the sublime enjoyment of noble fame in science and literature. Well may certain philosophers preach self-help to the working man, and refer to the biography of George Stephenson and others; but they will not succeed in making any perceptible impression on the masses, because, as society is at present constituted, the greater number of all men and women must remain the drudges of labour, and can only be raised to the exalted practice and enjoyment of arts, sciences, and literature by the introduction of a new social order, in which physical labour is equally shared by all, and in which all mechanical contrivances and economical arrangements are employed in order to shorten labour, by which means the greater period of the life of all men and women will become available for voluntary artistic, scientific, and literary pursuits.

“ Whatever can by man be known,
Common as grass-seed should be sown ;
Oh, stint not ! let it fall
Free, free—for all, for all ! ”

H. W. SUTTON.

The diffusion of sciences and arts will, moreover, be powerfully promoted by the obligation which will be incumbent upon all artists, scientific and literary men, of imparting their skill and knowledge to others; and the future social state will enforce this duty by prohibiting anyone to practise any art or science who does not perform his duty of teaching to others what he himself knows and can do. The great violinist Paganini, although once the wonder of the world, remains a contemptible specimen of egotism; for he taught no one, and was most circumspect that no one should see, or even hear him practise, and thus his astonishing performance remains a mystery to the present day.

Laudable examples of an opposite character are, however, to be found amongst many of the old Italian schools of painters and sculptors; and the eminence they reached in the annals of art must, chiefly, be attributed to the great number of pupils whom many of the great masters took into their studios, lodged in their houses, and incorporated into their

families, and whom they were always most anxious to teach and acquaint them with the manner of their work. The pupils not unfrequently endeared themselves to such a degree to their masters, that the latter very often defended them at the peril of their own lives,—a devoted act of defence, of which Michael Angelo relates one of himself, by which he saved the life of one of his pupils.

Numerous and extensive schools of music, painting, sculpture, drawing, architecture, mechanics, chemistry, natural philosophy, metallurgy, physiology, anatomy, botany, pathology, in fact of all the known branches of human learning and art, can immediately be organized and opened as soon as the new social order is introduced ; for besides the professional men, there can be utilized a great number of amateur musicians, painters, sculptors, chemists, botanists, mathematicians, etc., who at present are only enjoying art and sciences as objects of luxury, without performing any other labour whatever ; which is especially the case with many lady musicians, painters, sculptors, and authors.

Elementary teaching requires at present no fewer than 30,000 men and 80,000 women ; a number that is much too large, not only in proportion to the small number of children who now frequent elementary schools, but this number of teachers would even not be required if all the children went to school, provided that the system of teaching were arranged on the plan now at work in Germany, where one teacher is able to teach in a most efficient manner a number of 100 children of the same age, and in one and the same schoolroom, and forming one class in the scale of progress. As the total of all children living between the ages of five to fifteen is 4,450,000, the number of teachers on the German system of teaching in large classes ought to be only 44,500, and not 110,000.* This disproportion is chiefly owing to the number of 24,000 governesses, who each teach a limited number of pupils, very often only one child. These governesses, who now

* Lancaster, the celebrated educational reformer, and founder of the system of teaching bearing his name, combined skill and economy to such an extent that one master and one book were sufficient to teach 1000 children, and that for every £1 he received, he was able to conduct the education of three children for a year.

teach the children of private families in the houses of the parents, would instantly become serviceable as teachers in elementary schools. The staff of teachers could, moreover, be largely recruited from all well educated persons—gentlemen and gentlewomen *—and whilst the large number of teachers now employed is objectionable, especially in the case of private governesses and tutors, any large number of teachers will, however, be a great benefit in the future social state, because it will permit the work of teaching to be accomplished by alternate relays of teachers.

Arts will immediately receive a great impulse by rendering teaching compulsory on all artists; of whom the census of 1861 counts the following numbers:—

Musicians	15,000
Painters (men)	4,600
,, (women)	850
Sculptors	612
Actors	1,300
Actresses	890
Drawing masters	160
Civil engineers	3,300
Teachers of languages	1,500
Professors of mathematics	460
Architects	3,800
Authors and authoresses	1,600

All these artists, professors, and writers will be immediately available to be enlisted into the educational staff of the future social state, and the training of numerous novices will soon provide more artist teachers and training masters; the relays will become gradually more numerous, and less educational work will then be required from each individual.

* “Nowhere is there so abundant a reserve of high moral and intellectual power lying idle or running to waste as in the middle and higher strata of English society. There rises from it one great cry,—“Nothing to do.” Is it quite impossible that this should come to the aid of our elementary schools, threatened, as we are told, with a real degeneracy, under a show of success? If ladies and gentlemen will not teach little children their elements, may they not teach the teachers?—*The “Times” of the 15th of Oct., 1875.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.—DEFENSIVE, PROTECTIVE, AND
CHARITABLE LABOUR.

DEFENSIVE labour relates chiefly to military service, both in the army and navy, the labour required in the building of fortresses and war-ships, and the manufacture of all necessary war material.

It is to be hoped, however, that the standing armies of modern states will be disbanded with the advent of the universal republic, which, under the name of "The United States of Europe," will unite all the nations of this continent into one common brotherhood. But if the future social republic cannot be established on such an extended area, it will be advisable that its defence be intrusted to a military force, into which every citizen capable of bearing arms is to be enlisted. Defensive labour is, therefore, to be obligatory on all.

Protective labour will be chiefly required for the defence of order and public security in the social state. Although crimes and outrages of all kinds will be greatly diminished under the new social arrangements, there will, however, remain, inseparable from the imperfection of human nature and social institutions, occasional outbursts of passion, infringements of the law, disturbances of order, and commission of crimes; and these acts, although they may be of the rarest occurrence, will necessitate a police force for the detection of crimes, and arrest of criminals, and prisoners will have to be guarded by warders. Protective labour of this kind will also be obligatory on all.

Charitable labour includes the attendance on the sick in hospitals, on lunatics in their asylums, on the blind and infirm in their institutions. The work of the fire-brigades, the management of lifeboats, and the working of any life-saving apparatus is also to be considered charitable labour. Although this kind of labour will also be declared obligatory on all, it may, however, be predicted that compulsion will rarely need to be resorted to in order to obtain a sufficient number of persons to do the work of nurses and waiters in hospitals, of attendants on lunatics and blind people, of the sailors who man the lifeboat, of the members of the fire-brigade, and of those who work the rocket apparatus to save people from ship-

wreck. If the force of Christian love and charity should not be powerful enough to attract a sufficient and efficient staff for this kind of labour, then certainly compulsion will be employed to force the uncharitable to do their duty. The following are at present the statistics of defensive, protective, and charitable labour, as given by the census of 1861 :—

Army and navy at home and abroad	300,000
Artificers and labourers in Her Majesty's dockyards	13,000
Police	22,000
Prison officers	2,600
Nurses in hospitals	4,400
Firemen	834
Grave diggers	1,248
Manning the lifeboats	10,000
 Total	 354,082

Substituting national armament for standing armies will at once restore 300,000 soldiers to useful employments in trades* and manufactures, and the time which the citizen soldiers will require for drilling and manœuvring will but occupy a very small portion of their leisure, and will not, in the least degree, interfere with any other labour; for all work being obligatory on all, the 300 working-days which the greater part of the population now spend in incessant labour, will most probably be reduced to 100, if not below that amount.

The drilling, marching, manœuvring, and handling of arms, the exercises on horseback, the practice of gunnery, will, moreover, afford capital bodily exercise for every citizen, and will, therefore, confer great sanitary benefits upon the population.

More arduous than drilling will certainly be that kind of labour which is now performed by the 13,000 artificers and

* The Janissaries of Turkey, the best and most patriotic of Turkish soldiery, numbering about 40,000 men, rose in insurrection in the year 1702, and forced Mustapha II. to abdicate. They became tired of severe military discipline, and demanded to be allowed to carry on *trades* and *handicrafts* in their own homes.

labourers in Her Majesty's dockyards. If similar labour is required in the future, it will certainly have to be shared by all.

The police, which now numbers 20,000 members, or one policeman for every 2,000 persons, will experience a very great reduction in their numerical strength in consequence of the almost total cessation of crime; and it is certain that their future proportion to the whole population will be as low as one policeman for every 10,000 persons, which will reduce the force from 20,000 to 2,000.

The alternate participation of every adult member of the community in the service required in hospitals and asylums, will be conducive to greater care of the sick, and create particular attachment and gratitude on the part of the patients towards their attendants, which will be the more extensively the case, as most persons when they fall ill will prefer to be treated and nursed in the hospitals.

The work of the 1,248 grave-diggers, whose present laborious occupation can scarcely be called a charitable one, will, in the future, be performed by the whole of the adult male population, who will share in it by equal allotment.

This kind of labour will, however, assume a real charitable character in the future social state; for grave-digging having been made obligatory on all, there will be such a great number of persons to do the work that a different grave-digger can be assigned for each burial, and the solitary act of the last charity that man can render unto his fellow-creature will certainly remain solemnly and indelibly impressed upon each separate grave-digger, and this the more so as his turn for this work will call him only at the rare interval of ten years, which is proved by comparing the number of 500,000 deaths that occur annually with the number of 5,000,000 males of the age from twenty to sixty to whom grave-digging would be assigned by equal allotments.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—ADMINISTRATIVE LABOUR.

THIS kind of labour, which, to some extent, may be likened to the present civil service, is, however, in its nature very different from it. The abolition of money and private property will at one stroke extinguish a whole host of civil servants, now numbering

Inland Revenue	4,571
Customs	5,600
Other civil servants	7,000
Messengers	2,400
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Total	19,571

Even the post office service, now employing 14,131 persons, will, in the future, experience a diminution of its servants, for the decrease of commerce and manufactures will inevitably be followed by a less voluminous commercial correspondence. But although there will be a great decrease and even total cessation of certain branches of the present civil service, the nature of the future administration will require a much greater staff of such servants than there are now employed. The regulation and direction of all labour, industry, manufactures, arts and sciences, having become the most important departments of the state, numerous offices will have to be opened for this purpose.

We will here give a sketch of these administrative departments, and an inference may then be drawn from their nature as to the number of persons it will require for the future civil service.

The superior administration of any branch of the civil service will be called a ministry, and there will be separate departments for education, law, police, navigation, agriculture, manufactures, mining, locomotion, handicrafts, arts and sciences, etc. To every department will be, in the next degree, subordinate directories or boards of administration, and these will again be sub-divided into sections and commissions. The educational department, for instance, will have authority over the follow-

ing boards :—The board for elementary literary education, for industrial apprenticeship, for art training, for scientific instruction, for bodily exercise of the pupils, for their maintenance, and for the organization of the staff of teachers. The board of elementary learning will have a section for providing the necessary books of instruction, another for materials—maps, models, etc.

These sections will also furnish reports and statements concerning progress, and suggest improvements in all branches of elementary learning. The board of industrial training will have separate sections for the instruction in skilled labour, in factory and mining work, in nautics, for the erection and preservation of industrial schools, workshops, model factories, mines, training-ships, model locomotives, etc.

The board for art training will have a section for each separate art—for painting, drawing, sculpture, music, acting, etc.

The board of maintenance will have separate sections for the victualling, clothing, and boarding of the pupils.

The sanitary school-board will be subdivided into sections for bodily exercise,—drilling, gymnastics,—diet, medical attendance, etc.

The board for the teaching staff will have separate sections for the organization of the most efficient staff of teachers in elementary education, in industrial apprenticeship, in artistic and scientific training, etc.

We must not omit to call here particular attention to the reports that each section, board, and department, will have to present every year to the nation, and in which the progress achieved and the economies practised, in labour as well as in materials, will be clearly and faithfully pointed out.

The department of jurisprudence will superintend the administration of justice. It will have a board for recording the proceedings in the law courts, both civil and criminal; also a board for the administration of punishments, and a board for the training* and practice of lawyers.

The ministry of agriculture, for instance, will be subdivided into numerous offices, amongst which will be conspicuous a board for the introduction of newly-invented or improved

* See appendix page.

agricultural implements and modes of husbandry. It will also have a board for the management of cattle, another for the breeding of horses, another for the rearing of poultry; also a board for preserving game, and a board for the partial combination of industrial labour with the temporary stay of a part of the population in the country. Each of these agricultural boards will have various sections to superintend, as, for instance, the board for mechanical and scientific farming will have a section for each important implement.

The department of manufactures can have as many boards as there are manufactures, and each manufacturing board can have as many sections as there are branches or modes of processes in a certain manufacture. Thus the board for the cotton manufacture would have separate sections for the spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, and printing of cotton goods.

The department of skilled labour will have the direction of all trades and handicrafts, and these will have each a board divided into various sections, amongst which the most important will always be the sections of improvement and progress.

All boards of trades and manufactures will also have a statistical section, which will make estimates for the articles of produce required for the necessary provision of raw materials, tools, and machinery. This section will also give a numerical report and a list of the persons qualified for each particular trade. The accounts of the statistical section will enable each trade and manufacture to adjust the supply to the demand, and over-production, which now so often causes loss to both manufacturers and merchants, will be avoided. As an illustration of this we need only mention the simple arrangement by which the necessary quantity of shoes for the whole nation will be made without any deficiency or superfluity in their supply. Each person will have a spare pair of shoes made to his measure. This pair will remain deposited for him in the national shoe magazine. Besides this pair, which is kept in store for him, he has two pair at home for actual wear and change. When one of these is worn out, he is entitled to fetch his new pair from the national storeroom, and another new pair, made to measure, will immediately replace the one taken away.

The author is not able to give an estimate of the number of persons required in administrative labour. But as this kind of labour is not equally divided amongst the population, but is allotted by election; and as no one is eligible to serve in the administration who has not previously discharged his duty in physical labour, a statement of the number of civil servants is less important than in any other kind of work that is obligatory on all. Ministers of the national administration will be elected by the whole of the people, boards of directors mostly by the trades, and sections by the boards.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—ARTISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC LABOUR.

A UNIVERSAL diffusion of sciences and arts being one of the great principles of the future reconstruction of society, the author will here indicate the arrangements by which each individual is to participate in the enjoyments of the practice of arts and sciences. To become proficient in any science or art, time is required for study and practice. The new social organization has for this purpose most admirably contrived to spare the greater time of a man's life for his pursuits in arts and sciences; and we can prognosticate such an incursion into these fields of culture, that there will not be found a single person who is not either a painter, a sculptor, a musician, a mathematician, a linguist, a lawyer, a physician, an engineer, or an architect, etc.

Scientific and artistic labour, offering the most powerful attraction, and giving the purest and noblest enjoyment to the mind, is by its very nature so inviting that compulsion for its performance is not needed; and the future social state will therefore leave the study and practice of arts and sciences optional to every individual.

There will, however, exist a slight exception to this rule in the artistic and scientific training of the children in elementary schools, who will all have to undergo a rudimentary process of artistic and scientific inculcation, in order to evoke latent genius or special aptitudes. In teaching singing, notation, and the use of various instruments to all pupils, the musical talents

of the pupils will be discovered. The same in teaching drawing, modelling, perspective, and the use of the brush and colours: any special aptitudes and liking for the art of painting will be brought out.

We put with confidence the greatest reliance in the efficacy of this initiatory system and mode of evocation; and we expect from it the most marvellous results, both concerning the great number and high quality of the discovered talents and special aptitudes.

But notwithstanding genius and talent are so highly fostered and favoured by the new educational system, mediocrity nevertheless enjoys ample protection; because it may often procure pleasure and enjoyment to inferior artists, and amuse their friends and companions. If all cannot be first-rate painters, musicians, sculptors, actors, etc., the second and third-rate artists may, each, severally, derive as much enjoyment from their inferior artistic or scientific production, as the most eminent individuals in the profession. The new social state recognises this enjoyment as legitimate, and will therefore protect all inferior artists by granting them all the necessary assistance in the exercise of their arts, however mediocre it may be. The musician will be provided with music and musical instruments, the painter with colour and canvas, the sculptor with marble and chisel, the draughtsman with drawing boards and compasses.

There is no doubt that by the initiatory system of education which will prevail in the future social state, the most satisfactory results will be obtained, not only with regard to the pleasure that arts and sciences will cause to each separate individual, but also with regard to the general advancement and progress of the sciences and arts themselves.

There remains, however, to be considered, the question in how far the dissemination of science and arts could be proceeded with, if the present social order should suddenly collapse, and be replaced by a new educational arrangement.

Although the present staff of artists, both in professionals and amateurs, is not a very large one—and this circumstance is certainly not creditable to modern civilization—it will nevertheless suffice to furnish all the agents, teachers, and professors for a successful beginning with the universal diffusion of arts

and sciences. Every artist and scientific person, both professionals and amateurs, will, at the introduction of the new social order, be immediately called upon to undertake the art training and scientific instruction, not only of children, but also of adults. The 5,450 artist painters could instantly open 5,450 schools of painting for adults; and if each school were attended by 100 persons, there would in a very few years be an accession of 545,000 new artists to the profession. Besides, the 5,450 artists could also attend at as many elementary schools and teach rudimentary drawing and painting to children. The physicians, lawyers, mathematicians, botanists, etc., although partially engaged in their present professional duties, would have to find time to act also as teachers to all adults, who, at the introduction of the new social order, will gain the time, and should feel desirous of getting an insight and knowledge of medicine, law, mathematics, and other sciences. The benefits that society will thus derive from the universal diffusion of arts and sciences will be enormous. It will in the first instance break up that affectation of superiority which men of distinction in the fine arts and learned professions now surreptitiously assume; for they do not consider that others might have attained the same professional skill, fame, and distinction, had they been blessed with the same superior education. This assumed superiority of the professional classes must inevitably disappear when not only every man and woman will understand law, medicine, mathematics, painting, sculpture, or some other art and science, but amongst whom there will be found a prodigious number of rare geniuses and mighty minds.

A universal dissemination of sciences and arts will also procure the advantage of lessening the professional labour required of each individual. Thus, for instance, the more physicians and surgeons there are, the less work will there be for each one of them, and the less time will they spend in visiting and attending their patients. The time thus saved will allow them to be also employed in industry, agriculture, navigation etc.

The contingent that physical labour will recruit from the learned professions will be a considerable one; for divinity, law, and medicine alone are presently constituting in the

aggregate an array of 106,000 men, who with their wives and children would fill a large city of 500,000 inhabitants.

The number of these three professions, stated by the census of 1861, is as follows :—

Divinity	35,000
Law	34,000
Medicine	35,000
Total	<u>104,000</u>

This, in the present state of society, is exorbitantly large, because their work, especially that of the clergy and the lawyers, is comparatively small and easy, when contrasted with the hardships and dangers of physical labour. The learned professions and fine arts seem in this respect to be so many places of refuge in which persons seek a secure protection against the bane and evils of labour, to which they might otherwise be exposed in the factory, in the mine, on the sea, on the locomotive, or on some other dangerous post, exclusively and unjustly assigned to those now called the working classes.

We subjoin here the statistics of the whole of the learned professions and fine arts, as given by the census of 1861 :—

General and local government	87,350
Post-office	22,000
Magistrates	2,500
Divinity	35,000
Law	34,000
Medicine	35,000
Teachers (men)	30,000
" (women)	80,000
Musicians	15,000
Painters	5,450
Sculptors	610
Engravers	4,600
Actors	1,300
Actresses	890
Total	<u>353,700</u>

This number, if multiplied by five, to represent families and servants, increases to the enormous amount of 1,414,800 persons, living on professional labour,—a number nearly the tenth part of the whole population of 20,000,000 people. If compelled to enter the ranks of the common artizans, the professional classes will reduce the work of the former by one-tenth ; that is to say, thirty working-days will be taken off from their 300 annual working-days.

CHAPTER XL.—EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR.

THIE equal distribution of skilled and physical labour will, in the future social state, be facilitated :—

1. By the time that is left to each individual after the discharge of the three months' duty spent in the performance of national labour, which will give him the opportunity of preparing himself for any other trade or occupation.
2. By the industrial training of all children in state establishments ; by which means they will all gradually become initiated into the handling of tools and management of materials.
3. By a sense of duty that will induce all members of the community to participate in the requirements of those trades and occupations which, by their nature, are either repulsive, unhealthy, or dangerous.
4. By the attractive nature of skilled labour itself, which not only requires bodily exertion, so eminently conducive to health, but also calls into requisition the mental powers and intellectual abilities of the workman.
5. By a desire for a variety of labour in order to escape that painful monotony which by year-long continuation must render any labour and occupation tedious and even repulsive.*

* The delegate of the Brussels section of the International Working-men's Congress of 1874 said : "A better education and technological training, combined with the progress of inventions, may, at no distant date, enable a man to work at various trades without undergoing a long apprenticeship in any."

6. By the great pleasure and interest every working man will feel in teaching to others his handicraft ; for by doing his duty in this respect, speedily and efficiently, he will in this way procure for himself the surest means of shortening the hours, days, and years of his own labour. The universal prevalence of this feeling will form a most pleasant and beneficial contrast with the present dislike and even alarm felt by many working men when they see great numbers of apprentices entering their trades, whom they very often regard, not as brothers, but rather as enemies, who have come to overcrowd the trade, and thus to reduce the wages of the skilled mechanic. In the new social state just the reverse influences will be active, and the skilled artizan will not only be pleased to teach apprentices with the greatest willingness, but he will also find his task greatly facilitated by the superior intelligence and ardour of the novices themselves. He will especially show great regard to those persons who at the introduction of the new social arrangement may be handed over to him from the learned professions, the commercial and shopkeeping classes, or from other trades and occupations which have either become diminished or extinct. Even those who now form the idle classes of society will, under his guidance, learn useful trades.

The equal distribution of labour does not require that every man, woman, and child shall participate in all the various handicrafts and manufactures. All occupations having been brought under six classes,—viz., 1. dangerous ; 2. repulsive ; 3. unwholesome ; 4. hard ; 5. monotonous ; 6. easy and agreeable labour—every person will only be obliged to work in one of the trades belonging to each class, and he will therefore have to choose and learn six occupations, besides being skilful in agriculture. These seven characters of a man's activity in the new social state may very often require a change of locality, but this will not be universally the case. If locomotion is required for every one of these occupations, a person may have to make six or seven journeys a year,* which still very favourably contrasts with the present monstrous passenger traffic.

* The railways of the United Kingdom carried last year 477,840,411 passengers. But in this number are not included the season-ticket holders, who all travelled a great number of times, many of them more than once

CHAPTER XLI.—SUPPRESSION OF IDLENESS.

IT is a characteristic feature of the present anarchical state of society that it harbours an immense amount of idleness under the ægis of charity, freedom, and necessity. The idle vagrant, the sturdy beggar, the parish pauper, are considered worthy objects of charity; the idle annuitant and independent gentleman enjoy full freedom in doing nothing, and the idle soldier is tolerated as an object of necessity.

The following list contains the greater number of idlers, many others being omitted who have already been mentioned in previous chapters:—

Paupers (in and out-door)	*890,000
Army at home and abroad	300,000
Persons of no occupation	150,000
Gentlemen and annuitants	87,000
Gentlewomen and annuitants	23,000
Persons living on incomes of voluntary sources and rates	72,000
House proprietors	36,000
Landed proprietors	30,000
The blind	30,000
Prisoners	26,000
Lunatics	26,000
Police.	21,000
Pensioners	17,000
Deaf and dumb	12,000
Patients in hospitals	10,000

each day. Allowing for these, it is not an over-estimate to assume that in the present year (1875) the number of passengers will reach five hundred millions. That number would allow thirteen journeys a year, or one journey every four weeks, to each man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom, including the extremely aged, the infant, the invalids, paupers, and inmates of prisons and asylums.

* “Through the administration of the present poor-law, and the granting of in-door and out-door relief, especially to able-bodied paupers, a greater encouragement is held out to idleness and extravagance than to industry and frugality. The industrious, temperate, and comparatively virtuous, are compelled to support the ignorant, the idle, and the vicious.”

—ROBERT OWEN.

Union districts	6,000
Prison officers	2,600
Omnibus, cab, and coach owners.	4,000
Ship owners	1,800
House agents, rent collectors	1,800
Coal owners	1,000
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Total	1,747,200
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Of this immense number, the greater part will, in the future social state, become available to be enrolled in the rank of useful workers. Pauperism will then become extinct; the imposition of the sturdy beggar and the idle errands of the professional tramp will then become unprofitable and impossible, as nobody will have anything to give away. The great number of gentlemen and gentlewomen now living on accumulated or inherited capital will have their support of idleness destroyed; for money being abolished, nobody will be able to accumulate or transmit wealth, and everybody will thus be compelled to become a labourer,* artizan, factory operative, sailor, miner, etc. The great number of persons inheriting wealth, not only in estate, but also in money, and the amount of idleness created thereby, may be guessed from the following list of every fortune exceeding £250,000 personality, transferred by death within the past ten years:—

John Cattley, Esq.	£250,000
H. T. Hope, Esq.	300,000
Richard Green, Esq.	350,000
E. Lloyd	600,000
W. Hobson, Esq.	300,000
The Marquis of Lansdowne	350,000
Joshua Field	250,000

* “In a world where everyone lives on the products of labour, it is a matter of simple justice that everyone should do his share. The man who does not work lives upon the work of his neighbour. He gets food, clothing, shelter, comforts, and luxuries, for which he renders no equivalent. The idle man is a thief and a robber, shirking his share of the world's work. Somebody gathers his food, makes his clothes, builds his house, supplies his wants, and he does nothing in return.”—Dr. T. L. NICHOLS, in his “Manual of Manners and Morals.”

J. C. Screiber, Esq.	.	.	.	.	£350,000
S. G. Smith, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
H. Farnell, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
H. Huth, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
J. R. Oppenheim	.	.	.	.	250,000
The Duke of Cleveland	.	.	.	.	800,000
Sir R. P. Glyn	.	.	.	.	500,000
A. Saltmarche, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
James Manse, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Rev. J. Arkwright	.	.	.	.	400,000
Sir W. Brown	.	.	.	.	900,000
T. H. Mandslay, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Samuel Brooks, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
John Hayne, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
James Kershaw, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
George Beaufoy, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Hudson Gurney	.	.	.	.	1,100,000
J. Bates, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
The Duke of Newcastle	.	.	.	.	250,000
R. Barrow, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
Duke of Northumberland	.	.	.	.	500,000
Sir Samuel Cunard	.	.	.	.	350,000
W. G. Prescott, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Marchioness of Londonderry	.	.	.	.	400,000
Richard Thornton, Esq.	.	.	.	.	2,800,000
C. Farnell, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Pantia Ralli, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
F. Williams, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
R. L. Cleave, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Sir B. Heywood	.	.	.	.	400,000
Rev. Canon Moore	.	.	.	.	250,000
E. Wheler Mills	.	.	.	.	250,000
G. R. Elkington	.	.	.	.	350,000
W. H. Lambton, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
F. D. Goldsmid, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
R. Gardner	.	.	.	.	350,000
Don Pedro Gonzales	.	.	.	.	800,000
J. Ashbury	.	.	.	.	400,000
T. J. Eyre, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Peter Arkwright, Esq.	.	.	.	.	800,000

W. H. Goschen, Esq.	.	.	.	.	£500,000
T. A. Gibbs, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
Humphrey F. Mildmay, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
Rev. Godfrey Arkwright.	.	.	.	.	300,000
J. G. Abbot, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
W. H. Sparrow, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Alex. Cunningham Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Charles Hardy, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
Hollingworth Maguire	.	.	.	.	400,000
Dowager Countess of Jersey	.	.	.	.	300,000
John Gott, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
R. Curteis Pomfret, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
W. H. Whitbread, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
W. Crawshay, Esq.	.	.	.	.	2,000,000
Duke of Northumberland.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Lord Aveland	.	.	.	.	400,000
John Lewis, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
James Aspinall Turner	.	.	.	.	300,000
John Ames, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
Joseph Straker, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
John Vickers, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Peter Pantia Ralli, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
Samuel Eyres, Esq.	.	.	.	.	1,200,000
S. R. Fydell, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
H. Houldsworth, Esq.	.	.	.	.	400,000
J. Josiah Ollivant	.	.	.	.	250,000
T. Bridges, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Marquis of Salisbury	.	.	.	.	300,000
Sir B. L. Guinness	.	.	.	.	1,100,000
Earl of Abergavenny	.	.	.	.	300,000
Earl of Normanton	.	.	.	.	700,000
Robert Oliverson, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
E. Majoribanks	.	.	.	.	600,000
W. Fox, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Don Cristobal de Murietta	.	.	.	.	600,000
Lord Ashburton	.	.	.	.	250,000
George Barker, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
J. Stainforth Berckett, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Miss Sarah Waller	.	.	.	.	350,000
Joseph Crossley, Esq.	.	.	.	.	900,000

Charles Bell, Esq.	.	.	.	.	£300,000
G. R. Smith	.	.	.	.	300,000
Lord Leonfield	.	.	.	.	250,000
Anselmo de Arroyava	.	.	.	.	350,000
W. Cook, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Sir E. Cunard	.	.	.	.	300,000
Samuel Scott, Esq.	.	.	.	.	1,400,000
Peter Maze, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Sir J. C. Hobhouse	.	.	.	.	250,000
W. Stevenson Davidson	.	.	.	.	400,000
J. Rendle, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Robert Gosling, Esq.	.	.	.	.	700,000
E. Giles, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
W. H. Forman, Esq.	.	.	.	.	1,000,000
J. Mathew, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
W. Edgar, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Mr. Peabody	.	.	.	.	400,000
Marquis of Westminster	.	.	.	.	800,000
J. A. Wigan, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Lord Foley	.	.	.	.	250,000
James Mackillop, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Don Gregoria de Meir y Feran	.	.	.	.	500,000
Thomas Fielden, Esq.	.	.	.	.	1,300,000
Thomas Parr, Esq.	.	.	.	.	500,000
F. Steiner, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Lord Derby	.	.	.	.	250,000
H. Warner, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Jos. Gibbins, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
J. Robinson, Esq.	.	.	.	.	300,000
Sir E. Antrobus	.	.	.	.	300,000
E. Wilson, Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Sir W. Williams	.	.	.	.	300,000
W. S. Burnside, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
James Du Pré, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
W. Thornton West, Esq.	.	.	.	.	800,000
Miss E. Asherton	.	.	.	.	400,000
R. Harvey Esq.	.	.	.	.	350,000
Christopher Wilson, Esq.	.	.	.	.	250,000
T. Brocklehurst, Esq.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Lord Hotham	.	.	.	.	500,000

Right Hon. H. W. Cavendish Scott	£500,000
B. Bacon William, Esq.	600,000
Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild.	1,800,000
Mrs. S. Gould	250,000
Mrs. Augusta Ivers Dixon	400,000
Rev. J. Williams	500,000
Marquis of Hertford	500,000
Sir Oswald Mosley	350,000
Giles Loder, Esq.	3,000,000
T. G. Gosling, Esq.	350,000
Sir R. Murchison	250,000
J. A. T. Smyth, Esq.	400,000
Alfred Reyner, Esq.	350,000
C. Buxton, Esq.	250,000
S. D. Castillo	600,000
James Foster	300,000
James Lewis, Esq.	500,000
J. Pease, Esq.	350,000
J. Gillott	250,000
Lord Lonsdale	700,000
Henry Harris, Esq.	350,000
R. Dykes, Esq.	250,000
D. Cave, Esq.	400,000
J. Kerr	333,000
R. B. Byrne, Esq.	400,000
W. Moir, Esq.	250,000
J. Chadwick, Esq.	250,000
Sir F. Crossley	800,000
Duke of Bedford	600,000
J. Peel, Esq.	300,000
A. Worthington, Esq.	250,000
E. Walker, Esq.	500,000

The following lines, written by W. A. Russel, of Bristol, and heading an article on "True Reform" in the *Beehive* of March 22nd, 1873, will serve as a suitable appendix to the preceding list:—"The evil inherent in the existing monetary arrangements of society may thus be briefly pointed out: all the surplus profits acknowledged under the name of dividends, etc., over and above the costs of production or

management, go to sustain more or less in idleness classes or individuals who do no part of the work implied ; these favoured individuals again at their death leaving their claims in the hands of successors, and thus keeping up in perpetuity a mass of idleness (I am not using the term individually) which ever weighs like an ill-advised mortgage on the energies of the really industrious portion of the community."

The kind of idleness indulged in by some of the rich inheritors of this land is mostly a mixture of indolence, freaks, hoaxes, and eccentricities not seldom bordering on insanity ; for when the torpid state of indolence called "killing time" has exhausted the energy of the subject indicated by the active verb "to kill," he, in default of exercising a useful calling in husbandry, trade, navigation, or the learned professions, breaks out into capricious pranks and whimsical actions which in the eyes of other people may appear ridiculous and harmless folly, but which should be regarded as detestable acts of culpable idleness.

A notable instance of the follies committed through idleness, and supported by inherited riches, was Mr. John Knight, of Henley Hill, Staffordshire, who died in September 1872. He inherited, some twenty years before his death, an estate producing a net rental of £1,500. When he died he left behind him personal property to the amount of £62,000. He was not a social man, he neither made nor received visits, but lived in a very eccentric fashion, and wrote a great many letters. He was fond of German bands, and entertained these wandering minstrels at the hall, and let the servants dance to their music. He shunned the company of his equals, and cultivated that of the lower animals keeping a great many dogs, and feeding them with mutton. His house swarmed with rats, and he sometimes fed and petted them, and sometimes shot them. He built splendid greenhouses and fruiteries, but either allowed the fruit to rot upon the trees, or fed the animals with it. He made his grooms ride races in a ring, while he stood by to enjoy the fun ; and he took a maid-servant with him when he went out shooting rooks. He would dress himself in skins, paint stripes on his face, and rush in among his servants, gun in hand, to enjoy their fright.

Others, again, enjoy their idleness in a more inoffensive and quiet manner, somewhat in the fashion of the "Independent Gentleman," whose thoughts and fancies Mr. John Ruskin in *Fors Clavigera* imagines to run in this vein:—"A woman is going two miles through it to-day to fetch me my letters at 10 o'clock; half-a-dozen men are building a wall for me, to keep the sheep out of my garden; and a railroad stoker is holding his own against the north wind, to fetch me some Brobdignag raspberry plants to put in it; somebody in the East End of London is making boots for me, for I can't wear those I have much longer; a washerwoman is in suds, somewhere, to get me a clean shirt for to-morrow; a fisherman is in a dangerous weather, somewhere, catching me some fish for Lent; and my cook will soon be making me pancakes, for it is Shrove Tuesday. Having written this sentence, I go to the fire, warm my fingers, saunter a little, listlessly, about the room, and grumble because I can't see to the other side of the lake.—From the diary of the said gentleman."

The existence of a number of 150,000 persons returned by the census as having no stated rank, profession, or occupation, is another disgrace to the present social order. No such reproach will ever become applicable in the new social state; for, under the proposed regulations, it will simply be impossible for anyone to exist as a member of the community without work or useful occupation. The abhorrence which all sensible men should feel against idleness is well expressed in the following lines by a writer whose name we are, however, not able to give. He says:—"Men or women with no business, nothing to do, are absolute pests to society. They are thieves, stealing that which is not theirs; beggars, eating that which they have not earned; drones, wasting the fruits of others' industry; leeches, sucking the blood of others; evil-doers, setting an example of idleness and dishonest living; vampires, eating out the life of the community."

The noble-minded Carlyle is greatly provoked at the sight of idleness, and addresses the following terrible challenge to the idler:—"And who art thou that braggest of thy life of idleness; complacently showest thy bright gilt equipages, sumptuous cushions, appliances for folding of the hands to mere sleep. Looking up, looking down, around, behind or before, discernest

thou, if it be not in May Fair alone, any idle hero, saint, god, or even devil? Not a vestige of one. In the heavens, in the earth, in the waters, under the earth, is none like unto thee. Thou art an original figure in this creation,—a denizen in May Fair alone, in this extraordinary century or half century alone! One monster there is alone in the world—*the idle man.*

Mr. Herbert Spencer says, in his work "The Study of Sociology":—"Clearly, then, we have grounds for inferring that, along with the progress to a regulative organization higher than the present, there will be a change of the kind indicated in the conception of honour. It will become a matter of wonder that there should ever have existed those who thought it admirable to enjoy without working, at the expense of others who worked without enjoying."

How the army and police is to be organized has already been explained in the chapter on defensive and protective labour.

Prisoners, if there are any, will be most profitably employed; for the produce of their labour will in no case disastrously compete with free labour, but will in every instance lessen the burden of the latter.

With the extinction of pauperism 6,000 union district officers will likewise become a valuable accessory to industrial and other labour.

The abolition of private property will also swell the ranks of labour with an addition of 73,000 persons, not even including their families and servants, but heads of families only, the proprietors of land, houses, mines, ships, coal, etc.

CHAPTER XLII.—PROPORTION OF NUMBERS BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

"England has many labourers, but fewer labourers than inhabitants."—LOUIS BLANC.

THE writer subjoins here three summary tables, which give the number of the great subdivisions of the people of England, Scotland, and Wales each class also including their children.

It will be seen from the third table that the productive or working classes, numbering 10,000,000 including their families and children, have to support other 10,000,000 people, belonging to the unproductive classes. Deducting from each of these two classes two million on account of infants and very young children not yet capable of working, there are left on both sides 8,000,000 of able-bodied men, women, and children. If the 8,000,000 of the unproductive classes were united with the 8,000,000 of productive workers, the time occupied in work, now amounting to 300 working-days per annum, would be reduced to 150. How further reductions are practicable has already been demonstrated in previous chapters.

Grand total of the whole population.

Learned professions	1,768,500
Unproductive and unprofitable	1,717,800
Commercial classes	3,600,000
Skilled labourers	5,000,000
Domestic servants	1,500,000
Agriculture (unprofitable)	1,660,000
Agricultural labourers	2,000,000
Factory labourers	1,000,000
Carriage and conveyance	1,000,000
Mining	1,000,000
<hr/>	
Total	20,446,300
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Supported by others.

Learned professions	1,768,500
Unprofitable idlers	1,717,800
Commercial classes	3,600,000
Domestic servants	1,500,000
Agriculture (unproductive classes)	1,660,000
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Total	10,446,300
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Supporting others.

Skilled Labour	5,000,000
Agricultural Labour	2,000,000
Factory Labour	1,000,000
Carrying and Conveyance	1,000,000
Mining	1,000,000
Total	<u>10,000,000</u>

"Stripped of big phrases about 'law' and 'order' and the 'basis of society' and all the claptraps so freely uttered by the great broadcloth and kidglove parties in the world, the real contest is between Idleness and Labour—between the drones and the bees."—*Reynold's Newspaper, Jan. 18th, 1874.*

PART III.

Considerations on the Difficulty, Efficacy, and Gravity of the New Social Organisation; and Addresses to all Classes of Society in Support of Communistic Principles.

SECTION I.

SUGGESTED AND ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

THE most important attempts made or proposed for the reconstruction of society in general, and especially aiming at the emancipation of labour from the thraldom of capital, relate to co-operation, national workshops, equitable exchange of labour, and miniature model communities.

CHAPTER XLIII.—I. CO-OPERATION.

CO-OPERATION, either for consumption or production, has been successfully tried in several localities, and has obtained a decided triumph in the conspicuous example which the Rochdale Pioneers have given in their co-operative association, both for production and consumption. Co-operative farming and mining have also been attempted with more or less success ; and there is little doubt that co-operation might succeed in any branch of trade, if the means for a successful beginning could be procured.

Granting that co-operation can be successfully organised

and carried out, nevertheless it cannot be exclusively relied upon, because of the great length of time it would require to produce, by its action, any extensive amelioration in the condition of the working classes. Co-operation on a large scale, extending to all branches of labour, cannot be carried out without the absorption of all other property and capital not yet possessed by the co-operators. Let those who advocate co-operation as the only possible means of emancipating labour, think of the enormous amount of money, labour, and time it would require to attack, or even to successfully compete with, the gigantic power of capital. They should also seriously consider the close alliance between capital and property, especially in the possession of lands, mines, houses, ships, railways, canals, factories, harbours, etc.; and they will at once perceive the utter hopelessness of any early prospect of absorption by co-operation.

The task of absorbing private property and wealth by co-operative agencies becomes still more desperate through the continued increase of the already existing capital, which accumulates at a rapid ratio by means of lucrative investments, dividends, and interests on loans, especially those advanced to foreign states. The period of time that would allow co-operative capital to increase tenfold will suffice to augment private capital and wealth a hundred fold. Besides, insurmountable obstacles bar, in many instances, the acquisition of property by co-operative societies. Until they possess hundreds of millions in hard cash they will not be able to become large proprietors of land, houses, factories, mines, steamers, railways, etc.

The money it will require in order to make any successful inroad upon capital invested and realized in property and trade may be guessed by the following estimates:—

Land and Houses.—There are in the United Kingdom 46,000,000 acres of cultivated land, which, at a rental of £2 an acre, afford an income of £92,000,000 per annum to the 36,000 landed proprietors.

The rental derived from houses is also estimated at £92,000,000 per annum. Both of these sources of income amount to £184,000,000, which at thirty years' purchase represents £5,520,000,000.

The yearly rental from land and houses being £184,000,000, will in ten years have accumulated to £1,840,000,000, not even including interest on this enormous sum, and will have been embarked in new sources of investments.

As the income-tax which farmers have to pay is levied on the half of their rental, the farmers' profits may be put down as amounting to £46,000,000, which in ten years will accumulate to £460,000,000 without interest.

Railways.—The capital invested in the construction and maintenance of 15,000 miles of railways in the United Kingdom alone is said to amount to £400,000,000. The annual income derived in the shape of dividends being £24,000,000, will in ten years have produced £240,000,000.

Ships and Cargoes.—The value of the ships and cargoes that yearly arrive at and leave the ports of the United Kingdom is estimated by Mr. Simonds at £600,000,000; representing, at only 2 per cent., an annual income of £12,000,000, which in ten years will have accumulated to £120,000,000.

Products of Manufactures.—These amount, according to Mr. Simonds, in bulk to 400,000,000 tons, valued at £1,000,000,000. It is generally considered that on the value of manufactured goods ten per cent. may be allowed as the probable profits realized by manufacturers; which, according to this estimate, would represent a net yearly income of £100,000,000, or £1,000,000,000 in ten years.

Loans to Foreign States.—It has been computed that the total liabilities of the various states incurred between 1851 and 1873 amounted to £2,120,000,000. Of this the larger portion was contributed by England. The exact amount of English capital advanced to foreign states and colonial governments cannot easily be ascertained, but may safely be estimated at £2,000,000,000.* The profits derived from the dividends on foreign and colonial stocks, subject to income-tax payable in England, are already surprisingly high, rising to £20,000,000; representing, at five per cent., a capital invested of £400,000,000. £2,000,000,000 thus supplied to the wants of foreign states would indicate dividends to the enormous amount of £100,000,000 a year, or £1,000,000,000 in a decade.

* The *Echo* of Oct. 20th, 1874, gives the sum of £3,000,000,000.

Capital invested in Foreign Industries and Undertakings.—The dividends from these investments are, probably, not less than £20,000,000 annually, from a capital of £400,000,000.

Interest from the National Debt of England.—The money from this source of income is pure profit, without risk and speculation, and amounts to £30,000,000 annually, or £300,000,000 in ten years on a capital of £800,000,000; of which £100,000,000 are fictitious, for the state never received a farthing for this £100,000,000.

Putting all the above estimates into two columns—one showing the capital invested, and the other the profits derived therefrom in a decade—they rise to two enormous totals, viz. :—

CAPITAL INVESTED.	<i>Millions</i>	DECENIAL PROFITS.	<i>Millions</i>
Land and houses	£5,520		£1,840
Farming	2,300		460
Railways	400		240
Ships and cargoes	600		120
Manufactures	1,000		1,000
State loans	2,000		1,000
Foreign industry	400		200
National debt	800		300
Total	£13,000		£5,160

Added together, these two sums amount to a general total of £18,160,000,000; the colossal magnitude of which will prove to the advocates of co-operation the utter hopelessness of their attempts to cope with this gigantic power of capital, either by competition or acquisition by purchase. All co-operative efforts will remain paralyzed as long as the enormous capital of nearly £20,000,000,000 keeps hold of all fixed and movable property, and, moreover, increases every ten years at the rate of £5,160,000,000.

Another hindrance to the success of co-operation is the property possessed in patents, which give to their possessors the exclusive right of using a certain process of manufacture, or of producing a certain machine, implement, tool, or article of production. The proprietors of these patent rights could

scarcely be induced to part with their property unless exacting enormous sums for compensations from the co-operators.

Co-operation is also objected to, because it would, if even successful, only benefit certain of the working classes, without improving the condition of all. If the engineers could establish extensive co-operative works of their own, from which they derived considerable profit, but if the railway servants, the drivers of locomotives, and stokers could not form a co-operative undertaking in railway business; and if they were, moreover, excluded from participating in the profits of the engineers, the latter would certainly have unjustly profitted by co-operation, from which the former were excluded; and the comparative rising of one section of the working classes in the social scale, whilst others are unable to do so, would only have added fuel to the burning hatred of class distinction.

CHAPTER XLIV.—NATIONAL WORKSHOPS.

THE national workshops (*ateliers nationaux*) were at one time strenuously advocated by Louis Blanc, a French socialist. He, at the head of the Working Men's Parliament which, in 1848, sat for a short period in the Palais Luxembourg, the former chamber of French peers, made some ineffectual attempts at the organization of public workshops that were to compete with private establishments, and to supersede them in the course of time by gradual and pacific absorption.* The National Assembly of the Republic of 1848 voted several million francs for the erection of such workshops; but this grant of money being subsequently stopped, the building of the national workshops could not be undertaken. The only workshop which came into existence was one in which some hundred needlewomen were employed, and after the revolution of June which crushed the agitation for the emancipation of

* “The purpose of national workshops is the successive absorption of individual workshops. When once set going, their result is easily seen. In every leading trade, such as the manufacture of cotton, silk, flax, there would be a national or associated factory competing with private business. Would the contest be a long one? No.”—LOUIS BLANC.

the working classes, the subject of the national workshops was entirely abandoned. As the propounders of this system aimed at the gradual absorption of all private industrial establishments by Government factories and workshops, the plan proposed by them was nothing else but co-operation actively and powerfully organized, supported and promoted by the great resources of the state itself.

The objections raised against this mode of emancipating labour are various. In one respect they agree with the objection made against co-operation on account of the length of time it would require in order to absorb all private establishments. In another respect it may be argued that the immediate benefits experienced by working men, in the national workshops, would be so great as to cause a sudden rush of the entire working population to the well-regulated and spacious Government workshops, and that, in consequence of this spontaneous incursion, all private, ill-regulated, and unhealthy establishments would have to be immediately closed for the want of workers and artizans. Surely the advocates of national workshops never intended to bring about such a social collapse; for it would necessitate the organization of labour on a basis that should provide employment for all those whose trade and means of subsistence had been destroyed by the superior attraction and better organization of the national workshops. That a sudden transfer of private into national industry was closely following the isolated and crude attempts of national workshops in 1848, was to be seen from the great number of those workmen who deserted their former employers as soon as the national workshops were proposed, and which they thought would shortly be opened for their admittance. However, no such workshops having been erected by the state, and the number of those seeking employment by the state being alarmingly large (115,000 at one time), the Government of the Republic of 1848, having proclaimed the right of labour (*le droit du travail*), was in principle bound to give employment to these men. In the absence of national workshops, these multitudes of skilled artizans were sent out to the yet unfinished fortifications of Paris, where they had to do the necessary earthwork under the burning sun of the middle of June, and for a daily wage of two francs per individual. This temporary

employment, to which the Government still gave the name of "*ateliers nationaux*," did in no manner please the men, for they expected each one of them to be employed in his own trade—the watchmaker in making watches, the shoemaker in making shoes, the tailor in making garments; and feeling highly disappointed at the non-establishment of the real national workshops, and bitterly resenting the uncongenial character of common earthwork to highly skilled operations, they rose in insurrection against the Government of the Republic on the 21st of June, but were overpowered by General Cavaignac, who directed the so-called massacres of St. John.

CHAPTER XLV.—EQUITABLE EXCHANGE OF LABOUR.

PRACTICAL but crude systems of exchanging labour for labour* were first inaugurated in 1832 by R. Owen in London, and in 1848 by Proudhon in Paris. The latter opened a bank, by the agency of which the exchange of labour was to be facilitated. It is, however, to be regretted that Proudhon's "Labour Exchange Bank" had not a fair trial, for no sooner was it opened, and ere any transaction of business had taken place therein, than the Government of the Republic became alarmed at the socialistic tendency of this scheme, and arbitrarily closed the establishment by the authority of the police. Enough is, however, known of this system to enable an impartial critic to arrive at the conviction that an equitable exchange of labour is an impossibility. It was proposed that time should be the standard of valuation. Nothing seems, at first, to be easier than the exchange of a day's labour of one working man with one day's labour of another. But the awkward question soon arises, Who is to be the time-keeper? Is the working man to be the valuer of his own time, or is another person to certify the number of days or hours he has spent at the production of a certain article, or in the perform-

* "The equitable exchange of labour is based on the principle of labour for labour."—ROBERT OWEN.

ance of certain work ? If it is left to the working man himself to state the length of time he has been at work, an untrue statement may occasionally be made, and the equitableness of exchange is thereby put in jeopardy ; and if other persons have to count the hours, days, and weeks of his work, the number of time-keepers would have to be so enormously large that the whole system of supervision is at once to be dismissed as an absurdity. But even granting that the time is, on the one hand, honestly stated by the workman himself, or that, on the other, the valuation of his time were easily effected by some ingenious device, an exchange of labour on the principle of the valuation of time only would merely perpetuate the inequality of the remuneration of labour. In order to arrive at an equitable exchange, the nature of the work would have to be considered. A day's work of the shepherd in guarding his flock in the merry sunshine cannot be equitably exchanged with a day's perilous work of the sailor on the stormy sea. The time spent by the miner in the bowels of the earth is more valuable than that of the worker in the field. If this principle of justice is to be connected with the valuation of time, it is sure to introduce innumerable considerations and difficulties, without establishing a workable plan of an equitable exchange of labour. The perilous work of the sailor, the miner, the locomotive driver, and engine stoker, would have to be estimated a hundred times more precious than that of the tailor and watchmaker; and when this claim of compensation is once admitted, where is it to stop ? Cannot the working men who risk their lives and injure their health in certain trades and employments raise their claims of compensation and extra reward to any extent ? Is a man's life or health only worth the value of a hundred day's work of another of his fellow workmen ? It is unnatural, nay, it is immoral, that a man's life and health should be risked for pecuniary compensation, or even for an advantageous gain in the exchange of labour with fellow workers. There can be only one equitable exchange of labour, and one just compensation for the risk of life and injury to health, if unavoidably connected with physical labour, and that is, if others incur the same danger, and are exposed to the same destructive influences, and have to bear the same hardships. The equitable exchange of labour, and

the final emancipation of the working classes, can only be effected by the equal distribution of labour of all kinds amongst all the members of the community.

CHAPTER XLVI.—MINIATURE MODEL COMMUNITIES.

ST. SIMON, Robert Owen, and Fourier, have each given detailed descriptions of isolated social communities, and Robert Owen even made a practical experiment of his plan by the settlement of a new social colony at New Lanark, in Scotland, which after a few years of successful and promising efforts began to decay, and was ultimately abandoned. In America various religious sects have, for many years past, been living in so-called social communities, the same as the Moravian Brethren, who have a similar settlement in the Black Forest, in Germany. Although the religious tenets of these sects may be different, they have, however, one institution common to them all, and this is the community of property, of land, houses, and pecuniary interest, etc. ; and it is this most important of all social ties that alone can assure the happiness of a community and the success of a settlement.

All attempts at solving the social question by model communities based on the community of property, however successful they may be, will nevertheless remain powerless in exercising any great influence on the present state of society ; for the rich will refuse to become members of similar social communities, well knowing that in the presence of and in close contact and intercourse with all the members of the community, they could no longer indulge in luxury, idleness, and dissipation ; and the poor, as also the working classes, have not the means to raise the necessary funds for the purchase of land, cattle, agricultural implements, and other requisites, in order to found new and well organised social colonies ; and the rudest settlement of this kind in the backwoods and prairies of America, if even the land were given gratuitously, could not be successful without the means of emigration to, and transit through the American continent. But, although all these material hindrances might be overcome by patience and perse-

verance, there remain, however, other insurmountable obstacles which will never permit that the area of a country be parcelled out into miniature social establishments, presenting on a map a similar regularity of the divisions of the country as the well-known square fields of the chess-board. The two great social reformers, Fourier and Robert Owen, in advocating the establishment of miniature social communities, overlooked two circumstances that are greatly adverse to the foundation of small and isolated social establishments, which should maintain themselves both by agriculture and manufactures, industry and handicrafts. The first is the impossibility of localising trades and occupations which, in their nature and mode of working and organisation, have a tendency to become nationalised,—such as the post business, telegraphs, railways, and especially the seafaring occupation, which scatters itself over the distant ocean. Trades and occupations like these cannot be directed and worked by innumerable isolated communities, but must stand under a central directory like that of a board of railway directors and managers, the postmaster-general, etc. The second circumstance which acts as an impediment to the division of the population into localised sections is to be found in the fact that certain occupations must, for ever, be confined to certain localities, as mining to the mines, quarrying to the quarries, dock labour to the seaports, etc. These occupations cannot be distributed all over the country in order to let every local community share and manage them, for they are more suitable for national organisation, which is already to some extent prepared by the great mining and dock and navigation companies. These are the true precursors of the national direction of all trades, manufactures, and occupations. Agriculture is likewise acquiring a semi-detached character, at least, in England; for certain counties are entirely laid out in grass-lands, while in others cattle breeding is paramount; and this is done in order to adapt the best sort of agriculture to the nature of the soil. If miniature social communities were established, they would either have to break up the national character and counteract the success of many of the most important and numerous trades of the people, or they, themselves, would have to become communities in one district for grass growing, and in another for cattle breeding, for cotton

spinning in one locality, and for coal mining in another; an absurdity that was certainly never dreamt of either by Fourier or Robert Owen. Miniature social communities may, moreover, be considered as great obstacles to the nationalisation of all trades; for instead of having, for instance, only one great shoe manufactory, in which all the shoes of the whole nation are made, the separate social communities would each have several shoemakers amongst their members, who would make shoes in the place where they dwell,—an arrangement that would not permit the great economy in the distribution of leather and other materials to be realized, which the one great national shoe manufacture can alone effect.

The Associated Home, as already described in this book, has nothing in common with the *phalanstères* of Charles Fourier or the parallelograms of Robert Owen. Both these socialist writers endeavoured to concentrate all manufacture, industry, and trades into each of their proposed communities; whilst the Associated Home, as explained in previous chapters, is merely an institution and an arrangement for saving domestic and distributive labour, and places all productive labour, manufactures, mining, all the skilled trades, etc., into other and often distant localities, and under the immediate direction and control of the state. The Associated Home will, therefore, have no workshops, factories, brick and stone yards, in its neighbourhood, and will, therefore, be greatly dissimilar to Fourier's *phalanstère*, which provides access to all manner of work, either under the roof of the social palace, or in its immediate vicinity.

CHAPTER XLVII.—ARGUMENTS WHICH RAISE THE QUESTIONS
WHETHER THE PRECEPTS OF MORALITY, THE DICTATES OF
RELIGION, AND THE ENACTMENTS OF CRIMINAL AND CIVIL
LAW ARE SALUTARY AND EFFICACIOUS.

WHAT have moralists and apostles of religion been preaching for upwards of two thousand years? They have insisted upon the subjugation of the flesh and evil desires, the suppression of bad words, and the omission of evil deeds. Have they succeeded to any great extent? It is doubtful.

If premeditated murders have decreased to a small extent, when compared with the increase of population in general, manslaughters and suicides are, on the contrary, more numerous now than at any former period of the world's history. At times suicides become suddenly so numerous, that they are spoken of as an inexplicable mania; in other instances they seem to be committed in imitation of each other; but we see in the frequent occurrence of this lamentable self-destruction of human life the dire results of pernicious influences to which all persons are exposed in the present state of society, which drive them to despair, and induce great numbers of people to terminate an existence that has become unbearable to them. The comparatively small decrease of wilful murders, of which civilization is apt to boast, is, in the opinion of the author, rather apparent than real; and he suspects that it is more owing to the watchfulness of a greatly increased police force, and their efficient means of detecting crimes, than to any great efficacy of religious and moral teaching, or of any secret influence that civilization itself may exercise on the prevention of murders. The means of detection, especially the use of the telegraph and photograph, have rendered the escape of murderers nearly impossible; and, in consequence, murders, coupled with the self-destruction of the murderer, become more and more frequent. With the cunning of the detective, that of the murderer increases in direct ratio; and this is the reason why undetected murders are alarmingly on the increase. The subtlety and ingenuity of the present detective police force, and their watchfulness for the prevention of crime, will, however, be far surpassed by the means which the future social state will have at its command for preventing and tracing crime. By the abolition of money the mainspring of the escape of criminals will be broken, and by all persons being lodged and boarded in the Associated Homes, the whereabouts of every individual will be exactly known to many; and as no food and dwelling can be obtained elsewhere, hunger would soon drive the escaped criminal into the precincts of the Associated Home, and his inexplicable absence would forcibly point to his guilt.

The total abolition of the manufacture, importation, and use of intoxicating drinks will, in the future social state, remove many

violent murders, murderous assaults, and suicides from the annals of crime ; and the writer supports his belief in this great reformatory agent, by referring to the reiterated challenge made by Mr. Cruikshank to the English public, to point out to him one single instance where, within the last forty years, a teetotaler has committed any capital crime.

It is stated that lesser crimes and transgressions of the laws of civilized society are on the increase. Such is the case with prostitution, theft, robbery, fraud, embezzlement, etc. Cases of drunkenness are also of frequent occurrence, and unless the total suppression of the liquor traffic can be enacted, the noble example of a reformed life given by so many members of the Temperance Society, is likely to exert little impression upon those abandoned to the vicious habit of excessive drinking.

Vagrancy and begging are rampant, and the desertion of wives by their husbands is so alarmingly on the increase that it causes, according to Sir Charles Trevelyan's statement in the *Times*, no small addition to that class of paupers who live in their scantily furnished apartments, in which very often no bed is to be seen, and where they sleep on the floor covered with dirty rags. The destitution to which deserted wives with their children are reduced before they come to a resolution of applying for admission into the workhouse, and the state of pauperism which produces the deadly famine fever, so fatal to the children of the poor, obviously condemn the present social system. Surely civilized society has covered itself with eternal shame for permitting poverty and destitution to breed loathsome and infectious diseases from the accumulation of dirt and neglect of cleanliness.* An old proverb says, "Cleanliness is next to godliness ;" the practical truth of which is, that there is no godliness where there is no cleanliness, and that it is useless to preach religious and moral precepts in dirty rooms and to people in dirty rags ; for anyone attempting to introduce the cardinal virtues and graces of Christianity into these abodes of squalor and filth must be prepared, practically, to meet the rejoinder that will be made to him in the words of Christ, " Give to the poor."

* The removal of these dens of filth and infection is now legally enforced by the Artizans' Dwellings Act ; a measure that is called a communistic expedient by Mr. Thorobald Rogers, a correspondent in the *Daily News*.

The Executive Committee of the Howard Association refer, in a very pointed manner, to this subject in their circular for 1875, in which these words occur:—"It is matter for satisfaction that the Churches in the great towns, and elsewhere, have lately been holding large meetings for united prayers and praise. So far, this is excellent. But these united prayers will not be the more acceptable to heaven, if their incense rises from towns side by side with the reek of thousands of pestilent cellars and social abuses, which these Churches could do much to sweep away by the diligent use of the means and influence which Providence has already placed within their reach."

Sunday after Sunday the clergy solemnly repeat the injunctions, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" and every capital sentence pronounced by a judge, or punishment awarded to thieves, robbers, and bigamists, is accompanied by the addendum, "And let this sentence be a warning to all others." But what is the result of those solemn injunctions by the Church and those serious warnings and exemplary punishments of the law? The infliction of capital punishment is strenuously upheld as a terror for would-be murderers, and civilization acknowledges thus that powerful incitements for the commission of capital crimes are actually at work in the very heart of a so-called advanced state of society.

In order to check robberies combined with violence, and to diminish so-called garrotting, civilized England has to inflict corporeal punishment on the offenders, and degrades herself to the level of barbarian and half civilized nations.* Both the crime of robbery with violence and its punishment by the lash are sad aspects of the present state of society, and they are the more lamentable as by the abolition of money and the

* On the 14th of June, 1875, Mr. P. A. Taylor said in the House of Commons:—"The English people now stand alone in the world as the returners to the system of punishment by torture. The Frenchman, the German, the American, and the Dane have given up the lash. The Russian has thrown down the knout, and the English Government has stooped to pick it up."

On August 12th, 1874, twenty lashes with the "cat" were administered at Nottingham Gaol to a robber named Burrows. When the flogging was finished the prisoner fainted. How many more lashes would it have required to kill him?

introduction of a new social arrangement the causes of these and all similar crimes would be entirely removed, and the degrading infliction of corporeal punishment would likewise become superfluous. Being convinced that the total extinction of theft, robbery with violence, and murder committed for gain and plunder, will quickly follow the abolition of money, the author compares modern society, when it inflicts hanging, penal servitude, lashing with the cat-o'-nine-tails upon its criminal members, to Saturnus eating his own children. All criminals who are punished in the present social state, which in its imperfection is itself the principal cause of all crimes, are so many victims that society immolates in its ignorance, and to its own disgrace and injury.

How anxiously must, therefore, all friends of humanity look forward to an improved state of society, in which crimes will be comparatively unknown, and where with the diminution of crimes punishments will be light, mitigated, and humane.* Great will also be the blessing derived from the entire extinction of prostitution, that infamous stain in the moral aspect of civilized society, which neither religious precept nor legal enactment has been able to efface, or even to hide from public view. Clergy, moralists, and lawyers will be seized with surprise and amazement when they will see the glorious effects that the abolition of money will exercise on the diminution of many vices and crimes that hitherto have defied law, religion, and morality.

The following single, double, treble, and wholesale child murders would, in the new organized state of society, for the most part become entirely impossible by the simple arrangement that all children from the age of three will be boarded, lodged, clothed, and educated in Government establishments, and being thus withdrawn from their parental homes, their absence at the moment of the homicidal and suicidal paroxysms of their parents and relatives will be the safeguard of their innocent lives. Even the younger infants under three years of age will, to some extent, enjoy protection by passing the greater part of their time in the public nursery attached to each of the Associated Homes, where they will be

* "Greater mildness in punishment will necessarily produce corresponding mildness in crime."—J. A. ST. JOHN.

kept during most hours of the day under the superintendence of several nurses, whose permission will be required for the removal of any child from their care.

NAMES AND AGES OF THE CHILDREN.	PLACE, DATE, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE MURDER.
Maria, 3 years,	Murdered at Knowle, by her father, Edward Abbot, who was convicted of the murder on the 13th of August, 1873, at the Wells assizes.
A girl of 4 years,	Murdered near Truro, in May, 1857, by her mother, Grace Beard.
German, 8 years,	Slain on the 25th of April, 1848, by his mother, Ann Wheatcroft.
A girl of 8 years,	Murdered at Windsor on the 28th of February, 1862, by her father, John Gould.
Henry, 10 years,	Killed at Hackney on the 13th of March, 1865, by his aunt, Elizabeth Carmichael.
Richard, 6 years,	Murdered in Holborn in the month of October, 1866, by his father, John Jeffrey.
Hannah Read, 12 years,	Found drowned and violently abused, in August, 1858.
Francis, 3 years,	Murdered at Road on the 29th of June, 1860; his sister, Saville, subsequently confessing to the murder.
John, 12 years,	Murdered at Oldbury in June, 1859, by his mother, Eliza Foster.
Fanny Adams, 9 years,	Murdered on the 24th of April, 1867, by Frederick Baker.
Mary Ann, 11 years,	Murdered at Drury Court, London, on the 20th of November, 1861, by her brother, Richard Reeve.
George, 7 years,	Died at Gloucester, in 1856, from ill-treatment by his mother, Diana Yarnell.
Frances, 5 years,	Murdered at Dover on the 26th of October, 1856, by her mother, Frances Wallace.
Celestine, 10 years,	Murdered in Islington on the 17th of February, 1856, by her mother, Celestine Tomner.
A child of 7 years,	Murdered at Lamonley, near Penrith, the 21st of February, 1845, by being roasted alive by its mother, Jane Crosby.

NAMES AND AGES OF THE CHILDREN.	PLACE, DATE, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE MURDER.
Charles Browne, 3 years,	Murdered on the 7th of February, 1852, by John Kean, who cohabited with a woman whose illegitimate child the victim was.
Maria, 4 years,	Starved to death by her father, Richard Hook, and died the 1st of June, 1850, a victim of revolting cruelty.
Joseph, 4 years,	Murdered at Bilston on the 1st of October, 1855, by his mother, Ann Russel.
Joseph, 3 years,	Died on the 1st of December, 1852, from cruel ill-treatment, inflicted on him by his mother, Mary Antliff, for which she was transported for life.
Annie, 7 years, Alice, 5 years,	Murdered at No. 32, Ludgate Hill, on the 22nd May, 1862, by their mother, Mrs. Vyse.
William, 3 years, Elizabeth, 1 year six months,	Murdered at Clevedon in August, 1858, by their mother, Elizabeth Williams.
Edwin, 2 years six months, Sarah, 11 months,	Murdered at Newington in January, 1857, by their mother, Martha Bacon.
Francis, 5 years, James, 8 years,	The one murdered, and the other fearfully wounded at Bermondsey, on the 30th of June, 1872, by their father, William Edward Taylor.
Margaret, 6 years, Catharine, 4 years,	Murdered at Liverpool in January, 1857, by their mother, Bridget Cochrane.
Ellen, 5 years, Agnes, 2 years,	Murdered at Uxbridge in February, 1856, by their mother, Elizabeth Harris.
Mary, 3 years, Margaret, 6 months,	Murdered at Eighton Bank, near Gateshead, by their mother, Mary Stocker.
Jesse, 7 years, Emily, 4 years,	Poisoned in a cab, in London, on the 7th of November, 1863, by William Hunt, their father.
William, 3 years, Arthur, 2 years,	Murdered at Dublin on 21st of November, 1861, by Molloy, their father.
John, 5 years, Mary, 6 years,	Murdered at Chester in August, 1856, by their father, William Jackson.
James, 4 years, Mary, 2 years,	Murdered on the 8th of August, 1849, by their mother, Sarah Grout.

NAMES AND AGES OF THE CHILDREN.	PLACE, DATE, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE MURDER.
Armenia, 8 years, Robert, 5 years,	Murdered at No. 3, Cupid's Court, St. Luke, London, on the 3rd of January, 1848, by a woman with whom Robert Blake, the father of the children, cohabited.
Elizabeth, 2 years and nine months, Edward, seven months,	Murdered at Portsmouth on the 28th of July, 1873, by their mother, the wife of Henry Edward Steares.
Mary, Archibald,	Murdered at Rastrick, near Halifax, on the 16th of August, 1864, by their mother, Mary Dyson.
Nathaniel, 11 years, William, 7 years,	Murdered at Putney on the 7th of April, 1852, by their father, Nathaniel Sparkhurst.
James, 8 years, John, 4 years,	Killed at Stockport, the 6th of September, 1853, by their stepfather, Thomas Moore.
Elizabeth, Fanny,	Murdered at Bradford on the 21st of October, 1860, by their mother, Margaret Gowland.
Christopher, 9 years, Eliza, 5 years, Esther, 2 years,	Murdered at Bankside, Southwark, on the 23rd of August, 1865, by their mother, Esther Lack.
Elizabeth, William, and An infant,	Murdered at Epworth, Isle of Axholme, on the 9th of July, 1861, by their mother, Wilson.
Arthur, 4 years, Walter, 3 years, Frederick, 8 months,	Murdered at Ipswich on the 8th of August, 1849, by Grayson, the father.
A child of 6 years, Eliza, 4 years, and An infant of 8 months,	Murdered in Portland Street, Soho Square, on the 3rd of February, 1856, by their father, William Bonsfield.
Emily, 6 years and six months, Frederick, 2 years and 6 months, Mary Ann, 11 years,	The first murdered, and the other two badly wounded at Camberwell on the 30th of September, 1851, by their father, Anthony Fawcett.
Mary, 12 years, Hannah, 8 years, William, 5 years,	Murdered at Manchester on the 16th of May 1862, by their father, William Taylor.
Emily, 8 years,	Murdered at Ramsgate on the 10th of August, 1865, by her father, Stephen Forwood.
Henry White, 10 years, Thomas White, 9 years, Alexander White, 8 years,	Murdered, by the same Stephen Forwood, near Holborn, on the 8th of August, 1865.

NAMES AND AGES OF THE CHILDREN.	PLACE, DATE, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE MURDER.
A son, 16 years, Another son, 14 years, A daughter, 12 years, A child, 4 years and 6 months,	The first frightfully wounded and the other three murdered at Lerwick on the 25th of March, 1858, by their father, Peter Williams.
Eliza, 9 years, Rosina, 5 years, Louisa, 3 years, James, 14 months,	Murdered at Maidahill on the 15th of April, 1872, by Nichols, their father.
Elizabeth 12 years, Amelia, 7 years, William, 5 years, Samuel, 4 months,	Murdered at Mile-end by their father, John, Blair, on the 18th of May, 1874.
Blair, 11 years, Christian, 5 years, James, 3 years, Henry, 20 months,	Murdered at Glasgow on the 4th of August, 1871, by their father, James Nimmo.
Ellen, 12 years, Elizabeth, 10 years, Mary, 8 years, Frederick, 6 years, William, 5 years, Robert, 10 months,	Murdered at Sandown Fort, in the Isle of Wight on the 18th of May, 1860, by their father, Sergeant William Whitworth.
Georgina, 12 years, Carry, 8 years, William, 7 years, Harriet and Henry, twins, between 3 and 4 years, An infant 1 year and 9 months,	Murdered at Esher on the 10th of June, 1854, by their mother, Mary Ann Brough.
Walter, 13 years, Emma, 12 years, Alice, 6 years, Herbert, 5 years, George, 3 years, Ada, 1 year,	Murdered by their parents, Walter and Emma Duggan, at No. 15, Hosier-lane, Smithfield, on the 28th of June, 1869.

SECTION III.

ADDRESSES TO ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY IN SUPPORT OF COMMUNISTIC PRINCIPLES.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—TO THE RICH.

“Woe unto you that are rich ! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full ! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now ! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you ! for so did their fathers to the false prophets. Give to every man that asketh of thee ; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.”—St. LUKE vi.

WHY is money valued so highly, and why is wealth so greedily sought after? The rich answer, “Because it gives us power to accomplish great things.” Some social reformer contends, however, in opposition to this general belief, that the power of money is, on the whole, overestimated, if not entirely questionable. He maintains that “the greatest things which have been done for the world have not been accomplished by rich men, or by subscription lists, but by men generally of small pecuniary means. Christianity was propagated over half the world by men of the poorest class ; and the greatest thinkers, discoverers, inventors, and artists have been men of moderate wealth, many of them little raised above the condition of manual labourers, in point of worldly circumstances.”

“Riches are oftener an impediment than a stimulus to action ; and in many cases they are quite as much a misfortune as a blessing. The youth who inherits wealth is apt

to have life made too easy for him, and he soon grows sated with it, because he has nothing left to desire. Having no special object to struggle for, he finds time hang heavily on his hands; he remains morally and spiritually asleep; and his position in society is often no higher than that of a polypus over which the tide floats."

Instructive is, in this respect, the misuse of accumulated or inherited wealth by the ancients. Tiberius at his death left £23,624,000; which Caligula, whom the former adopted as heir to the throne, spent in less than twelve months. Out of his wealth, Cæsar purchased the friendship of Curio for £500,000, and that of Lucius Paulus for £300,000. At the time of the assassination of Julius Cæsar, Antony was in debt to the amount of £3,000,000; he owed this sum on the Ides of March, and it was paid by the Kalends of April; he squandered £147,000,000. Appius squandered in debauchery £500,000, and finding on examination of the state of his affairs that he only had £80,000, poisoned himself, because he considered that sum insufficient for his maintenance. Cleopatra, at an entertainment she gave to Antony, dissolved in vinegar a pearl worth £80,000, and he swallowed it. Amongst these instances of the misuse of money by the ancients are to be found four prototypes, namely, that of the waste of the public treasury by Caligula; that of bribery by Julius Cæsar; that of debauchery by Appius, and that of extravagance by Cleopatra. How innumerable, and varying only in degree, are the imitations of these ancient spendthrifts in modern times!

These reflections made on the misuse of money will, however, be partly set aside as referring to the profligacy of individual and isolated cases; and the rich will on the contrary maintain that the power of money and capital is manifest in the great works and undertakings of modern times,—in the construction of railways; building of numerous large steamers, some of them, like the *Great Eastern* of the most gigantic proportions; the erection of huge factories and warehouses; the laying of submarine cables, etc. This assertion made for the defence of capital is refuted by the somewhat paradoxical fact that the great Chinese wall, with its thousand miles of extent, was not built by the power of capital and risk of specu-

lation. It is even doubtful if really any money existed in those days of yore that witnessed the raising of that mighty bulwark which the ancient civilization of Southern China erected against the inroads of the barbarians from the north. It must be surmised that this period lies anterior to the Christian era. The gigantic labour spent by the ancient Chinese on this truly national work has been estimated by Mr. Seward, an American gentleman who visited those celebrated remains of antiquity, to be equal to the labour that has been required for the construction of the whole of 100,000 miles of railroads in the United States of America. And what difference is there, we would ask, between those colossal works of the ancient Chinese and the modern Americans? With respect to their destination and usefulness, scarcely any; for whilst the Americans built railways for the advancement of civilization, the Chinese built their Myriad Mile Wall, as they call it, for the protection of civilized life. The difference lies chiefly in the fact that the Americans built their 100,000 miles of railroads on base money speculation, whilst the Chinese raised the 1,000 miles of brickwork from a noble sense of patriotism with which the Chinese Government of that period was inspired, in order to protect their people from spoliation and plunder by the northern barbarians.

It is further alleged in defence of the personal employment of individual wealth, that private speculation and enterprise are the most powerful levers of civilization.

In answer to this allegation we would refer to the great undertakings that various European states and cities have carried out at their own expense and under their own direction and management. Of this kind are the state railways, telegraphs, mines, and salt-works in many foreign countries; the erection of fortifications, like that of the city of Paris; the construction of docks, harbours, lighthouses, and breakwaters; the lighting of towns, like that of Manchester by the Corporation Gas-works; the construction of ironclad ships in Government dockyards, etc. The success of all these undertakings by Government agency, and under state control or corporate management, has greatly shaken the belief in the exclusive superiority of private enterprise and individual speculation. The management of money itself, as instanced by the Govern-

ment Savings Banks in England, is placed into the hands of the state, and is eminently successful.

These instances of state enterprises superseding private speculation seem to prove that the secret of all successful undertakings lies in a well-regulated administration. The defence of money-capital is, however, still sustained by the argument that in order to have an efficient staff of administrators, directors, and managers of banks and railways, for instance, they must be well paid ; which, again, illustrates the power of money. This assertion seems, however, not to be borne out by facts, for it is found that the officials who manage the Government Savings Banks are greatly underpaid, especially if their salary is compared with the immense sums of money which are realized by the directors, partners, and managers of private banks ; and although the work in both Government and private banks is the same, the disparity in remuneration may be seen in a most striking manner by the senior partner of Coutt's bank in the Strand retiring with a competency of £600,000, whilst the manager of the Government Savings Bank will never be able to amass as many shillings.

The defence of capital is, however, far from being abandoned ; for the rich will venture to assert that without a prospect of gain and acquisition of wealth, no great effort in arts, sciences, and literature would ever be made. The assumption may, however, unhesitatingly be met by a flat denial ; and the author solemnly protests in the name of all great artists, scientific and literary men, on whose behalf he declares that their love of art and science, and their aspirations to fame and celebrity, are too great to allow pecuniary motives to influence their exertions. It would be an insult to all great men to believe that they were chiefly actuated by sordid motives in the composition of their immortal works. If there were any aiming at the acquisition of perishable wealth, rather than imperishable fame, such would be the exceptions, and not the rule. Facts from biographical history also support the truth that there is something higher than the love of money that inspires the artist, the poet, the philosopher, the historian. Those who are influenced by the unworthy motives of gain, produce nothing that will merit the attribute of immortality.

W. L. Sargent, the author of "The Science of Social

Opulence," asserts that "neither Gibbon nor Hume courted popular applause. Both wrote for fame, rather than for lucre. Gibbon would not surrender his darling employment because there was no money to be made of it; and Hume's early day-dream was of literary eminence, and it was for this that he expatriated himself for years, and led the life of a recluse, with the income of a mechanic.

Beethoven, the greatest of all musicians, whose mode of living was of the most exemplary simplicity, and whose temperate habits were observed by many, and who could therefore not have spent much of the money he earned, left £100 at his death; and this sum was presented him by the Philharmonic Society of London shortly before his decease. From these circumstances it must be inferred that this great artist earned little or no money by his gigantic labour, but that the creation of the many marvellous works of his genius resulted from the mere love of art.

The great German poet Göethe, never wrote a line with a view of pecuniary advantage. Göethe, whose parents were independent, and liberally cared for his education, even during his studies at several universities, had no need to begin to write for money; and when at the age of twenty he had established his fame throughout Germany by the publication of "Götz" (1773) and "Werther" (1774), the Duke of Weimar promoted him to be Councillor of State, with vote and seat in the Privy Council (Geheimraths Collegium). He remained the favourite and *protégé* of the Court, and thus had those means and that leisure at his command which enabled him to pursue his wonderful and extensive literary labours without any care of pecuniary success. The older he grew, the more assiduously he worked; so much so that up to 1832, the year of his death, forty volumes of his works had been published, which were afterwards followed by fifteen volumes of posthumous works.

Copernicus, the great discoverer of the solar and planetary system, was canon of the rich chapter of the Cathedral of Frauenburg when he wrote his immortal work, "*De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus Libri VI.*"; and his modesty was so great that, although this treatise was quite finished about the year 1530, he could only be induced to its publication at the reiterated solicitations of Cardinal von Schönberg, Bishop of

Padua. His principal work being thus published with his consent in the year 1543, he did not live to see it in circulation; for he died a few days before it left the press. Surely the conduct of Copernicus, who never had the least idea of acquiring pecuniary reward, and never even coveted fame by his great discovery, leads to the necessary inference that he only laboured for the love and in the interest of science.

Others, like the great French poet and writer Lamartine, earned much by the publication of their literary productions; but their bounteous liberality to friends and less successful literary contemporaries never allowed them to amass a fortune.

Instances of the disinterestedness, modesty, and noble aspirations of great men, excluding all sordid motives, could be multiplied *ad infinitum* from biographical dictionaries. The lives of these eminent men bear witness to the fact that they did not work for the love of money, which, in the present degraded state of society, is considered praiseworthy, but for the love of fame, which is truly so; or even for the love of art and science alone, which is pre-eminently so.

After the exposition of the preceding facts, the argument that the mainspring of all great national undertakings, and the principal aim of the labour of great men, is the love of money, must be abandoned as untenable.

The defence of private capital seems to derive some support from the argument that through the desire of gaining wealth, commerce has been carried into all quarters of the habitable globe, and that thereby nations have become civilized. The records of history, however, show that scientific investigation has generally been the precursor of the march of commerce. Marco Polo first brought tidings from the interior of Asia, before any traders visited the Indian shores. Columbus first discovered America, before any commercial nation could open communication with that continent, and which after it was effected introduced, not civilization, but slavery; an institution that is still legally upheld in the Spanish West Indies, and of which the United States of America could only rid themselves by a most sanguinary civil war. The visit to the Indian shores by Spanish traders was soon followed by the Inquisition, which in Goa enacted the most diabolical tortures that ever disgraced an European nation. Commerce, instigated by

the love of money, has, therefore, little to boast of with respect to its usefulness, in the propagation of civilization.

Driven from this line of defence, the rich will at last exclaim in despair, "If you abolish money, how shall we dispense charity? How shall we respond to the appeals of benevolence? How shall we make donations to hospitals and asylums? And how shall we be enabled to build almshouses? We answer, that the rich, after having abandoned their riches, will, in the future social state, be placed in circumstances in which they will be able to dispense a great deal of more real charity than through a pecuniary medium. They, like all other members of the community, will be periodically called upon to assist in the building of hospitals and asylums, certainly not with money and donations, but by real work as labourers, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, etc.; and they can, like that celebrated charitable lady, Miss Nightingale, volunteer to become hospital nurses at any time their charitable disposition should induce them to do so. Besides these splendid opportunities for bestowing benevolence on the sick, infirm, lunatics, blind, deaf, and dumb, there will be required of them the regular attendance at the performance of charitable labour of which an infinitesimal fraction will be compulsory on all, should they not, spontaneously, choose to participate in this kind of labour by their own charitable dispositions.

Those who lay great stress upon the excellency of charitable bequests, and extol benevolent donations in money, might feel inclined to place them above the charitable labour which every member of the new social state will have, personally, to perform; and they might support the preference given to charity dispensed by the medium of money, on the ground that under this form charity can assume the most gigantic proportions, as was the case with the donations that Mr. Peabody made for the erection of model lodging-houses in London, and as is also instanced by the boundless benevolence of the late Mr. Holme, stationer and rag-merchant in Norton Folgate, who left in his will,—to the Stationers' Company, £5,000; to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, £5,000; to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, £5,000; to the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England

and Wales £5,000 ; to the Society for the Promotion of the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels, £5,000 ; to the Association or Fund for Repairing York Minster, £5,000 ; to the Association or Fund for Repairing Salisbury Cathedral, £10,000 ; to the Royal Society for Preventing Cruelty to Animals, £5,000 ; to the National Benevolent Institution, £5,000 ; to the Royal Lifeboat Institution, £5,000 ; to the Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Benevolent Society, £5,000 ; to the King's College Hospital, £5,000 ; to the London Hospital, £5,000 ; to the St. Bartholomew's Hospital, £5,000 ; Charing-cross Hospital, £3,000 ; to the Blind School, St. George's Fields, £2,000 ; to the Asylum for Idiots, £2,000 ; to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, £1,000.

It might be argued that the immense amount of charity dispensed by these two gentlemen could never have been equalled by personal charitable labour, had they even passed all the days of their lives as attendants on patients in hospitals and mad-houses. This argument in favour of charitable money bequests loses, however, all its force when opposed by the opinion which one may entertain on the comparative value of the two modes of charity in question. We consider that the noble self-sacrifice of Miss Nightingale in personally attending the wounded and sick soldiers during the Crimean war, far outweighs in merit the total amount of the bequests and donations made by the two abovenamed persons; and we further assert that had they only once gone out in a lifeboat, and had they, like all those brave fellows who man these boats, risked their own lives in order to save those of their fellow creatures, their display of charity would have far surpassed in nobleness any amount of subscriptions and donations they made to the Royal Lifeboat Institution.

Yet the rich cling to their wealth, because it affords them great enjoyments, sumptuous living, fine dresses, costly furniture, leisure for the enjoyment of arts, of travelling, yachting, fishing, and the like. The author is, however, able to prove the fictitious nature, as well as the immoral character, of all the enjoyments that riches can bestow on any human being.

As to food. The most exquisite dishes offer no enjoyment to an appetite that has not previously been sharpened to some extent by hunger. The proverb "Hunger is the best cook," is

now generally disregarded by the rich ; but when they will enter the new social state, they will find that there are no more sumptuous dinners, champagne breakfasts, banquets, etc. ; and they may then experience the fact that a salted herring and a glass of water can be enjoyed with the same relish as a *pâté de foie gras* and a glass of champagne ; for the meals will be arranged at such intervals as will allow digestion to accomplish its function and hunger to sharpen appetite. Having once experienced the benefits of the wholesome and beneficial arrangements of the future, by which the most natural and simple food will be served at regular meals, properly distanced from each other, they will readily avow that the pleasures formerly derived from the delicacies of their kitchens and cellars were mostly fictitious.

We may also point to the truth that to fare sumptuously and to dress in fine linen and silk are immoral as long as there are human beings that die of starvation and exposure to the inclemency of the weather. The immorality of the exclusive enjoyment of wealth has been severely condemned in the parable of Lazarus and the rich man ; and all moralists must acknowledge that every enjoyment which others cannot procure for themselves with equal facility or trouble, is illegitimate and immoral ; and there was a great moral truth taught in the action of a French lecturer on Communism, when, standing before an audience of Parisian proletarians, he unbuttoned his coat, and suddenly stretched out his arms and tore his fine black broadcloth into tatters from his shoulders, exclaiming at the same time, " What cannot be worn by all, none shall wear."

The noble enjoyment of art may even become objectionable for the same reason. How often do not riches procure the means to many persons of pursuing the enjoyment of music, for instance, either by their own performance or in listening to others ; and being thus enabled to revel during the greater part of their lives in a continuous enjoyment of the beauties of musical art, playing in succession the masterpieces of all great composers, going from one concert to another, seeing opera after opera, hearing oratorio after oratorio, they indulge in a never-ending enjoyment that may fitly be compared to the incessant flying of the bee from blossom to blossom, and suck-

ing honey all the days of its existence. The like enjoyments become not only highly objectionable, but, in our opinion, even immoral, as long as others are deprived of the means and time of learning art and admiring it in others.

The enjoyment of travelling and residing in foreign countries is blameable on the same principle.

The author feels, however, that the arguments he has hitherto advanced, although irrefutable and persuasive, will after all be set aside by the most determined resistance the rich will make to the new order of things, on the ground that they would not like to be mixed up with the common people in the Associated Home, at meals, in the workshops and factories; and that it would still more grieve them to see their children put into national boarding-schools, where they would surely become contaminated with the bad manners and morals of the children of the lower classes. This objection would certainly prove fatal, did not the equal division of all educational labour, from the nursery to the university, provide the facility for all educated persons (and are there any who dare say they cannot?) to become teachers, managers, superintendents, directors, and assistants of these schools; and would they not thus possess the capacity and authority of checking all bad language and unbecoming behaviour by which their own children might degenerate in their moral character?

CHAPTER XLIX.—To MERCHANTS, SHOPKEEPERS, AND COSTERMONGERS.

OF all classes of society, none have greater reason to be dissatisfied with the present social state than merchants, shopkeepers, and costermongers. The merchants and great magnates of trade live in a state of chronic fear of the loss they might sustain, of commercial panics that might break out, of the migration of trade that might take place, and of the failure of their own business, or that of other firms with whom they stand in business connexion. Threatening insolvency not seldom leads to despair, and ends not unfrequently in

suicide. Or if insolvency does not derange the merchant's mind, fraudulent bankruptcy, disreputable flight from his native country,* and dishonest concealment of goods, always bring disgrace, shame, and infamy upon the offender. How tranquil, how undisturbed by fear, how free from all dishonest practices, will, on the contrary, be the condition of all those who, in the new social state, superintend the distribution of produce in the name and under the direction of the state. Suicides in consequence of commercial failures, anxiety of impending loss or insolvency, which now so often disturb the tranquility of the minds of the most honest and cautious traders, will have no more cause to appear, and commercial panics, with their disastrous consequences, will become impossible by the regulation of demand and supply.

Surely these are serious reasons why all merchants should be anxious to enter that state of society in which the evils from which they now suffer so much will be altogether absent. Every trace of dishonesty between the distributor and receiver of produce being in the future effaced, the whole process of distribution will consequently be freed from that burning stigma that "as mortar sticketh between bricks, so sticketh lying between selling and buying;" adulteration and cheating will cease, to the benefit of the whole nation; the discontent of cheated persons will be allayed, and they will cease to be the laughing-stock of the cheaters.

The insipid occupation of persons devoting their intellectual energies during a whole lifetime to the filling up of huge ledgers with myriads of figures that scarcely ever present any other quantities than pounds, shillings, and pence, and the calculation of these quantities, which seldom requires any more difficult arithmetical operation than simple addition, ought to frighten all intelligent men from commercial pursuits, however great the pecuniary advantages may be they enjoy in their present occupations. Merchants and their clerks engaged under the present system of distributing produce by wholesale and retail trade, waste their intelligence in perusing end-

* In the year 1875, Mr. Alexander Collie, a well-known London and Manchester merchant, being accused of fraudulent bankruptcy to the enormous amount of £1,000,000 sterling, fled from his native country, £1,000 having been offered by the City authorities for his apprehension.

less price lists every day, and in frequently raising or lowering the prices of their own goods. The principal activity of their minds is thus confined to a dreary registering of figures, and it is under these conditions reduced to a monotonous and automatic tell-tell registration of the state of the market.

To escape this dreadful monotony ought, therefore, to be the arduous endeavour of all intelligent and energetic men, be they principals or clerks ; and they ought to become desirous of seeing that state of society introduced in which the abolition of money and the distribution of produce by the state will at once remove a host of figures and tedious ledger writing from distributive labour by the total omission of all accounts concerning profits and losses, good and bad debts, sales and purchases, bills, draughts, auctions, etc. It must, however, be understood, that although a most beneficial change will take place in the nature of distributive labour, a great amount of it will, nevertheless, continue to exist in the future social state ; but as it will be shared in relays by all, its burden will be greatly lessened ; and as the work itself is of a very easy and simple nature, it will be chiefly assigned to persons who have already discharged their obligation in all other branches of labour. This allotment of distributive work will, therefore, chiefly fall upon the older members of the community, and will thus free all persons of the athletic age from occupations the duties of which are ill adapted to their bodily strength and mental activity, and which are very often connected with sedentary work injurious to health and oppressive to energy.

To shopkeepers, we may point out the insecurity of their position by being continually exposed to the pitiless attacks and disastrous consequences of free competition.

Well known is the sophistry of political economists, who endeavour to console the sufferers by saying that if free competition requires its victims, it is for the common weal. Social reformers, however, solemnly protest against this iniquitous doctrine of the school of political economists, and, defying contradiction from all lovers of justice, they argue that it is never right to sacrifice the well-being of one single human being, family, or class, in order to ensure the benefit of the whole community. Numerous are the failures of small traders and shopkeepers in consequence of competition ; and poverty,

starvation, degradation, shame, despair, and suicide, are the swift and relentless pursuers of the unhappy victims who thus are sacrificed to the irrational and unjust system of free competition. Even if success should crown the efforts of both the competitors, the anti-social nature of free competition will have acted so perniciously on them that they will shun each other's company, and will continue to regard each other as enemies; and though they are neighbours, or have shops in the same street or locality, social intercourse will in no way be cultivated between the rivals who are engaged in the feuds of free competition.

The hatred fostered by free competition is a symptom of the unnatural principles upon which the present social state is based; and nothing can, on the contrary, be more natural and rational than the reverse which the future state of society will present in this respect. All will then work in equal measure for the common good, and none will be injured by the antagonism of private interests. "One for all, and all for everyone," will be the true and noble motto of the future social republic, and it will displace the ignoble epithet, "Everyone for himself, and God for all." The latter sentiment is only applicable to the old state of society, which severs the most sacred ties of humanity; of friendship, companionship, association, and sociability, by its intestine jealousy, envy, hatred, and antagonism of interests engendered by the cruel system of free competition.

Shopkeepers must, moreover, sincerely regret the loss of time they incur by waiting for customers. The time thus wasted lies most heavily on their hands, because it generally indicates stagnation of business; and when they see, on the other hand, the busy artizan engaged the whole day through in laborious and often ingenious work, they must really become ashamed of themselves, if they are not entirely devoid of all feeling of honour. The insolence, whims, and caprices of customers, the frequent and unsuccessful attempts of purchase by undecided and hesitating purchasers, must be very galling to many shopkeepers and shopmen; and the bad tempers created by the higgling and wrangling between buyer and seller are the more provoking, as they could be entirely avoided were the distribution of produce effected by the state itself. The at-

tendant in the national store-room of the future will be as silent as the custodian of a public library : no lamination of the quality and cheapness of goods by the seller, and no contradiction from the buyer, will be needed ; the recipients of produce will deliver their tickets, containing the number, quality, size, measure, or weight of the goods to be delivered, and not a single word need be lost between the two. The author earnestly appeals to the good sense of all shopkeepers and shopmen to seriously consider the new state of things, and to make an unprejudiced comparison between the old and new method of distribution ; and they will arrive at the conclusion that their present station in society, although it may often be lucrative, is, on the whole, most vexatious and aggravating.

To costermongers we address similar remarks as to the shopkeepers, for they also belong to the trading community. They likewise stand in the same position as the shopkeeper, with the exception that, in one particular, they enjoy an advantage over him ; for their stock-in-trade being perambulatory, they can easily avoid each other's competition, whilst the shopkeeper has greater difficulty in removing from a street or locality where competition begins to injure his business. In one other particular the costermonger is, however, in a worse position than the shopkeeper. The latter would find it a great indignity if he had to stand at the door of his shop and call out at the top of his voice the names, prices, and qualities of the goods to be had within. With the exception of the "Buy ! buy ! buy !" of the butchers, and the harangues of Cheap Jacks and showmen, no other instance of a noisome mode of attracting customers has become prevalent in the shopkeeping community. The reverse is, however, the case with costermongers. Their unearthly and hideous cries re-echo through the streets and squares of all modern cities, and are a disgrace to civilization, and a degradation to man, whose voice, one of the noblest gifts the Creator has endowed him with, is thus converted into an advertising trumpet. The author is aware of but one instance in which this abuse of the human voice has been fitly and efficiently supplanted by a bell, and that is the tinkling of the bell of the clock which the itinerant watchmaker carries under his arms when walking about in request of a job.

The dust-bins with which the Associated Homes of the future

will be provided will have to be emptied just the same as they are now ; but the almost inarticulate cry, " Dust hoy ! dust hoy ! " will no more be uttered,* and those poor men who now perform the repulsive, dirty, and unhealthy operations of emptying dust-bins, and who are, almost unconsciously, announcing their approach by hideous yells, will be restored to healthy and clean occupations in other employments, both in skilled and unskilled labour, and the work of removing dust will have to be shared by all. The dust receptacles of the Associated Homes being large and deep, the removing of dust and refuse will take place at longer intervals, so that each individual will, perhaps, only spend one day during the whole of his lifetime in this kind of work. The redemption of the present dustman will therefore be one more of the glorious results of which the future social state has a right to be proud.

CHAPTER L.—TO THE WORKING CLASSES. ARGUMENTS ADVANCED IN ORDER TO IMPART TO THE SONS OF LABOUR A MORE PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THE WRONGS THEY SUFFER, AND TO RAISE IN THEM A MORE FERVID DESIRE FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION.

THE same as the villeins and gurths of the feudal times, the slaves of America and the serfs of Russia did not owe their emancipation to themselves, but to efforts of other classes of people, and to extraneous circumstances that acted in their favour,—in like manner are the working men of modern society indebted for the proposals of their emancipation from the thraldom of capital, to those great writers of the French, German, and English socialistic schools, who, like Buonarotti, Cabet, Fourier, Considerant, Proudhon, Weidling (a German tailor), Louis Blanc, Robert Owen, and others, broached the

* These cries have become somewhat subdued in the richer quarters of London, where householders have had the good sense to exhibit in one of the windows of their houses the letter D, meaning dust to be removed. But in the poorer quarters the cries of the dustmen are as doleful and frequent as ever ; for here the poor inhabitants and tenants of delapidated houses will not even go to the trifling expense or trouble of putting this silent monitor D into their windows.

labour question, and proposed various plans for the amelioration of the toiling millions.

The social problem, including the question of labour, having been subjected to a careful analysis by these men, the result contributed much to the enlightenment of the working classes, and imbued them with a strong desire for political power as a means to subvert the present state of society, in which they are the principal sufferers. They failed in their attempts at seizing political power in the year 1848, and were defeated in Paris by Cavaignac, in Rome by Oudinot, in Vienna by Jellachich. The Commune of Paris in 1871 was also supported by a great number of the Parisian working men, in the hope of establishing the so-called social republic,—clearly indicating by its name the impending re-organization of society.

The sanguinary repression of the risings of the proletariat in 1848 and 1871 has, however, had the advantage of proclaiming to the world, by the roaring mouths of cannons, the bloody insurrection of labour. The sympathy of the working men of all countries was enlisted in favour of their defeated French brethren. The working classes of all countries and nationalities began to fraternise; international associations were formed; and greater and more serious attention began to be paid to the social question. A sound, accurate acquaintance with this great problem, and of its close connection with the emancipation of labour, has, however, not yet been spread amongst the toiling millions; and all social reformers bitterly regret that great numbers of working men, from no fault of theirs, are still unable to read, and cannot study and learn to appreciate the glorious news of their approaching emancipation. But without a clear knowledge of what is to take place in the future, and without a firm conviction that they will be benefited by the impending change, they will, for the greater part, remain passive, or will apply such palliatives to their wrongs as opportunities and circumstances will permit; but if unsuccessful in them, they will submit, certainly under protest, to the tyrannical proceedings of masters and capitalists.

The greatest impulse that can be given to the subversion of society is the knowledge of the thorough rottenness, gross immorality, revolting injustice, and inhuman servitude of the present social system.

The author appeals, therefore, to all people, and especially to the working classes, to study the social question, to reflect upon it, and to judge for themselves of the merits and demerits of the various solutions proposed by social reformers. In so doing, the workman will first become convinced of the importance of the subject ; and, having mastered the solution of the social question, either by acquiescing with the plan of some social reformer, or by elaborating a scheme for himself, he will then become a violent agitator for political power ; and if the majority of working men have in like manner become acquainted with the social question, their combined agitation for the supreme power in the state, however fiercely opposed, will be irresistible, and their emancipation nigh at hand. In no instance will the axiom uttered by Bacon, that " knowledge is power," be of truer application. The present volume is especially intended for circulation amongst the working classes, and is designed to serve them as a guide for instruction on the social question. Its study will lead them to the bitter knowledge that they are mere tools in the employers' stock-in-trade, or, as the economists say, articles of trade subject to the law of supply and demand, to be used in this quality in order that masters, managers, employers, and capitalists may secure to themselves the means of luxury, self-gratification, and independency, without paying the least regard to the fact that, in many employments, the lives of their workpeople are endangered, their health is undermined, their constitution shattered, and the natural duration of their lives curtailed.

Numerous instances of self-assertion by working men are notable facts, and it is gratifying to observe indications of a consciousness of the wrongs they suffer, and the light they begin to throw, by their utterances, into a world of darkness, ignorance, and prejudice. A bright spark of this enlightened consciousness was struck by a simple miner, a delegate at the Masters' and Miners' Conference, held at the Royal Hotel at Cardiff on the 1st of January, 1873, who said, " Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen all,—I hope that in future before we come to stop the forge, or the pit, or the mill, that you masters will come and meet us men in this kind and friendly manner, and let us try if we cannot fix matters. It will be better for all

parties, for we don't wish to rob you, and we don't wish you to rob us. You have said a good deal about the risk of capital which the masters bear in the works. I don't wish to say nothing against that, but I will just venture to say that we miners risk something too. *We risk the capital of life, which God gave us when we were born*, which is all the property some of us has got ; and I do think, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen all, that that is a bit of value upon which we ought to get a fair return in the shape of food and clothing, and a trifle to put by against old age." The pleading of this man seems to amount to this, that the miners should not lay their lives down at too low a wage, and touches at once the momentous question of reward for the risk of life and exposure to danger, suffering from accidents and injury to health.

This claim seems to be established on moral principles, and should be conceded in the name of justice and humanity ; and the state should be called upon to supplement the wages of the miners, sailors, engine-drivers, and others who in any way are exposed to danger of life and limb ; and this is more especially its duty as the men do not incur these risks for the exclusive benefit of employers only, but for that of society at large. Supplementary wages by the state should, however, not be granted until it has been proved that the profits realized by capitalists in dangerous employments do not permit ample compensation to the working men for the risk of life and exposure to accidents. But although under present circumstances such compensation can justly be claimed, and although it is a most promising sign that working men, like the delegate miner at Cardiff, should themselves proffer this claim, and modestly hint at compensation for the risk of life, it is, nevertheless, obvious that the question of fatal accidents to limb and life, of injury to health, and of many other hardships and wrongs of labour, cannot be satisfactorily settled by the raising of wages ; for, according to the highest standard of morality, no working man, no sailor, miner, locomotive driver, or fireman at a steam-boiler, has any obligation to put his life in jeopardy for compensation in money wages, be they ever so high.

The injustice committed by the risk of life for compensation in the shape of increased wages is, under the present social arrangement, threefold :—Firstly, it is unjust that a man should

risk his life for a weekly pecuniary consideration ; secondly, it is unjust if he stands the risk of life for the benefit of society at large, as long as other classes of the community enjoy the benefits of this risk and remain indifferent lookers-on ; and thirdly, loss of life and limb, risked for a certain wage, is unjust as long as other working men, such as tailors and shoemakers, receive the same, or even higher wages, but run no risk of any danger.

The inequality of wages, which now exists between the various branches of the working classes, is another evil calling for a remedy ; and it is pleasant to see that a general tendency for a uniform rate of wages in one and the same trade has been successfully enforced by the determined attitude of the members of many trades unions. But this uniformity of the rate or minimum of wages in each separate trade is not carrying out the highest principle of justice and equity. It is, however, only too well known that the inequality of wages is not the fault nor the aim of the working classes ; for their universal claim is, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work." The mason or bricklayer who is employed at a high wage in the construction of a building, can have no desire or serious reason to see the labourer who carries the hod perform more irksome work at lower wages than himself. The author was very much pleased on seeing the principle of the equalization of wages vindicated by Mr. Smith of Bristol, who, at the Bristol Conference of the Amalgamated Association of Miners, Oct. 10th, 1873, moved that "a select committee be appointed to ascertain the lowest standard of wages up to five shillings per day, and that those places where wages were below five shillings be brought up to that standard, before any other places be allowed to give notice for higher wages." The satire which *Punch* puts into the mouth of an Irish bricklayer's labourer, in these words, "I get t'ree an' t'rippence a day for carrin' bricks up a ladder, an' be jabbers, there's a poor divil up at the top doin' all the work for me," can give little or no consolation to one or the other ; and in ridiculing the hardships of labour, the writers and publishers of *Punch's* comical sayings and illustrations have committed a gross insult upon the dignity of labour.

The agricultural labourer who lives on scanty wages which

a miner would reject with disdain, ought, in our opinion, to rise to the high-level wages of the well-paid miner; for though his work is less venturesome, "he is a man for a' that."

The writer is highly delighted in having found an opportunity of introducing the beautiful refrain from one of the poems of the immortal Scotch poet, and lays it to the heart of every working man, as embodying in a homely idiom the sublime principle of equality that ought to reign amongst men.

The working classes possess, even now, although on all sides surrounded by adverse circumstances and deterring influences, the power and means of bringing the principle of equality to a practical issue. Let them pour all their wages into one common fund, and pay all artizans, skilled or unskilled mechanics, factory operatives, miners, labourers, sailors, draymen, etc., a uniform and equal share from this fund, and the principle of equality and the behests of justice will be vindicated.

This suggestion of ours would easily be thought extraordinary, were it not merely an improvement of the uniformity of wages actually existing; for the scale of wages of all known trades and handicrafts varies very little, and its minimum and maximum keep within those limits of pay by which a more or less unhappy existence can be maintained. It is owing to this uniformity of wages, which is regulated by the cost of maintaining existence, that the average rate of wages is—

In England from 10 to 30 shillings.
„ France „ 6 „ 20 - "
„ Germany „ 4 „ 15 „

The author feels it to be his duty once more to call the attention of the working classes to the subject of accidents, loss of life, and injury to health. He has in a former chapter treated this subject as one of the great wrongs the working classes suffer under the present social arrangement, and he enumerated, from authentic statistical accounts, the fearful loss of life to which the working classes are exposed in many trades and employments. He will here enlarge upon the subject of *minor* accidents, such as the loss of a finger, a hand, or arm, and point out the great sufferings which follow accidents of this kind, and which accompany the healing process; and although amputation may be rendered painless to the sufferer

by the administration of anæsthetics, a second shock, following quickly that of the painful accident itself, is given to the nervous system by the surgical operation.

Many working men and women remain cripples all the subsequent periods of their lives, and become recipients of charity which ought to be administered unto them with the greatest liberality. That many of these injured and maimed persons are not brought within the pale of charity, or even poor relief, is evident from one extraordinary instance of neglect, although ample reparation was made to the maimed person many years after the accident. A woman who was employed in a cotton mill belonging to the father of the great Sir Robert Peel, had her right arm fearfully crushed by an unfenced piece of machinery, and the arm was amputated close to the shoulder. She was no more fit to resume her work in the factory, and no further notice was taken of her fate by her employer. But although she had only the use of her left arm and hand, she managed to gain a livelihood as a washerwoman. Her extraordinary and marvellous mode of working as a washerwoman with but one arm was for many years very well known to the common people of Preston, till at last it came to the knowledge of the great statesman, the son of her former employer, and he granted her a liberal pension for the remainder of her life.

The risk of life and exposure to injury from machinery, or to loss of health by deleterious influences which will always be connected with the performance of physical labour, will only become a justifiable necessity when labour itself will be declared a sacred and bounden duty that every individual has to perform in the interest and for the benefit of all. But as long as there are existing great multitudes of idlers, such as have been enumerated in a former chapter, and as long as there are occupations in which multitudes take refuge in order to avoid the inevitable risk of life and danger of accidents in other trades, justice and humanity are greatly outraged.

CHAPTER LI.—GRAVITY OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION DEPICTED BY EMINENT PERSONS—DISRAELI, CARLYLE, LAMARTINE, GUIZOT, TOCQUEVILLE, LADY ESTHER STANHOPE, PRINCE BISMARCK, AND MARSHAL MACMAHON.

“THE equality which is now sought by vast multitudes of men in many countries, is enforced by writers not deficient in logic, in eloquence, and learning; but they scarcely deign to recognise civil equality, and treat social equality only as an absolute truth. No moral or metaphysical element will satisfy them. They demand physical and material equality. This is the disturbing spirit which is now rising like a moaning wind in Europe, and which, when you enter the world, may possibly be a raging storm.”—DISRAELI, *to the Students of Glasgow University*.

“The look of England is to me at this moment abundantly ominous. The question of capital and labour growing ever more anarchic, insoluble altogether by the notions hitherto applied to it, is pretty certain to issue in petroleum one day, unless some other gospel than that of the ‘dismal science’ come to illuminate it.”—CARLYLE.

“Les idées humaines ont amené l’Europe à une de ces grandes crises organiques dont l’histoire n’a conservé qu’une ou deux dates dans sa mémoire, époques où une civilisation usée cède à une autre.”

“The working classes find themselves now in a worse position than they ever were placed in; all they possess are barren rights without being able to obtain a sufficiency for their subsistence. They will agitate society until communism has succeeded to odious individualism.”—LAMARTINE.

“C'est l'esprit du temps de déplorer la condition du peuple... mais on dit vrai; et il est impossible de regarder sans une compassion profonde tant de créatures humaines si misérables . . . cela est douloureux, très douloureux à voir, très douloureux à penser ; et cependant il faut y penser, y penser beaucoup ; car l'oublier il y a tort grave et grave péril.”—GUIZOT.

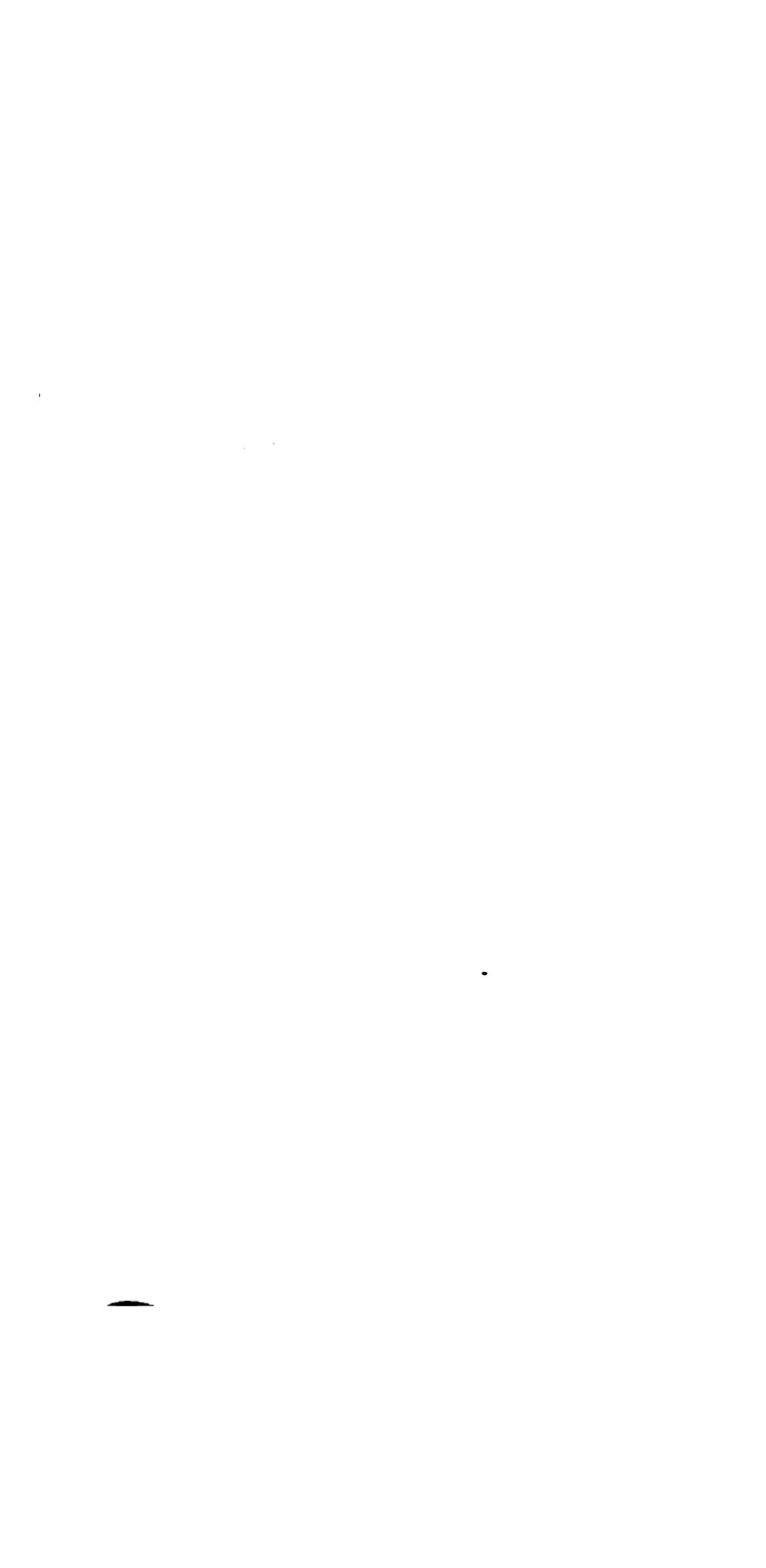
"Where are we going to?—Look at the great democratic and social revolution, which for seven hundred years has made continual progress in all Christian empires, especially in France, and which leads us irresistibly and providentially to a state of equality. Woud it be wise to believe that it may be arrested or suspended? Can anyone think, that after having destroyed feudalism, democracy will retreat in fear of the middle classes and the rich?"—TOCQUEVILLE.

"Shall I once more revisit Europe? Nations worthy of their chains, and kings unworthy of their crowns. Before little, your old continent will be shaken to its very foundation. All is there used up; kings can no longer found dynasties, and the aristocracy is superseded by an irresolute and ephemeral middle class. The people alone, the great mass of the toiling millions, have preserved some strength and virtue. Tremble, if they ever should become conscious of their power."—LADY ESTHER STANHOPE.

The German Parliament having in 1875 shown a decided inclination to reject the Government proposals which enacted heavy penalties against all those who, in speech or print, attacked the institution of matrimony, and private property, Prince Bismark made the following observation to some of the vacillating deputies who were present at one of his parliamentary evening parties:—"Socialism has made very great progress, far greater, gentlemen, than you probably imagine; and we shall see the results at the next elections. A few years hence the *bourgeoisie* will yearn for these very penal provisions* you are now unanimously bent upon rejecting, as the solitary traveller in the desert thirsts for a drop of water."

Marshal MacMahon, in a proclamation addressed to the French nation shortly before the general elections in 1876, warns the electors against those candidates for the Senate and Legislative Chamber who seek the favour of voters by means of *antisocial* programmes.

* These provisions, forming part of Clause 130 of the Penal Code Amendment Bill, were *unanimously* rejected by the German Parliament on the 27th January, 1876.



SECOND BOOK.

COMPARATIVE SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE,
OR,

**REMARKABLE ACCORDANCE AND STRIKING SIMILARITY OF THE
OPINIONS OF CELEBRATED SOCIAL THEORISTS WITH THE
COMMUNISTIC IDEAS ENTERTAINED BY THE AUTHOR ON
THE SUBJECTS TREATED IN THE FIRST BOOK, AND TO BE
RECONSIDERED IN THE SECOND.**



PART I. *Social Criticism.*

CHAPTER I.—OF POVERTY.

OF all the authors of the socialistic and communistic schools, none has been more logical, eloquent, and even sarcastic in treating of this subject of social criticism than Louis Blanc. In saying, “ Properly speaking, there is but one cause of evils, and that is misery,” he points out the way which all social reformers must follow, if they wish to succeed in the eradication of evil from society,—which, according to Louis Blanc’s maxim, can only be done by the extinction of pauperism.*

Another of Louis Blanc’s celebrated maxims on pauperism is that “ whenever the certainty of living by labour does not follow from the very essence of social institutions, there iniquity reigns.” The importance of this truth is of immeasurable influence on all those social reforms which tend to arrive at the extinction of poverty by the practical application of the biblical text that “ he who does not work, neither shall he eat,” or, what amounts to the same, that he who wishes to work shall find work, and live by it. In this latter sense Louis Blanc’s maxim is an important emendation to Saint Paul’s, and establishes the right of labour, which the state is in duty bound to render a reality.

The evil influences of poverty are thus described by Louis Blanc:—“ Who knows not that poverty is night to the human mind, and confines education within the most disgraceful limits? Poverty incessantly counsels the sacrifice of personal

* Louis Napoleon was, in 1848, elected President of the French Republic, because his treatise “ *De l’extinction du pauperisme* ” had procured him the votes of millions of poor proletarians. But how cruelly did he betray them in 1852!

dignity, nay, almost enforces it. Poverty renders dependent those characters which are independent by nature; thus converting a virtue into a new source of torment, and turning the native generosity of blood to bitterest gall. If poverty engenders suffering, it also engenders crime. If poverty leads to the hospital, it leads to the hulks also. Poverty makes slaves, and for the most part, thieves, assassins, and prostitutes."

The kindred connection between poverty and crime was not even unknown to the ancients; for Plato speaks thus of it:—"In a state where you observe poor people, there are doubtless concealed thieves, cutpurses, sacrilegious persons, and workers of all such evils."

That the work of private and Christian charity is of so little avail against an overwhelming amount of pauperism is lamented by Louis Blanc in these words:—"Private charity may prevent much suffering among the poor, but there will still remain thousands of persons who are in constant anxiety as to their food, clothes, and lodgings. How should this be? How in the midst of a boasted civilization does half the human race suffer this frightful humiliation, this protracted agony?"

Public charity and the support of the poor by the state, especially as practised in this country, Louis Blanc stigmatises in these sarcastic words:—"As there is no medium between feeding the paupers and killing them, the English legislators have chosen the former."

The righteous indignation which this great writer felt at the sight of so much misery arising from the existence of poverty, was still more increased when he contemplated the sad spectacle of mothers, through want of food, starving the fruit of their womb and the babes on their breasts. This induced him to say:—"No mother should be armed against the fruit of her bowels by the necessity of living."

The author of this book can bear witness to a sad fact of this kind; for he was once told by a Lancashire factory woman that as soon as she was able to get up after her confinement she was, through necessity, compelled to resume her work in the factory, and had to put her child out to another woman, who gave it suck by means of a bottle, whilst she (the mother herself) had such an abundance of milk that several times during the day she had to go aside in the factory, press

the milk from her breasts, and let it pour down the water-closet.

In the face of such and similar facts, it is no wonder that Louis Blanc passes the following severe condemnation on an apparent state of civilization, when polluted with these revolting evils, saying :—“ Paris, the city of science and art, the radiant capital of the civilized world, exhibits faithfully all the hideous contrast of a boasted civilization. Superb promenades and muddy roads, glittering warehouses and gloomy workshops, theatres for singing and obscene places for weeping. In it are to be found the most horrible abominations and miseries : of persons prepared for vice by ignorance, and driven into it by want ; of the professional thieves, swindlers, prostitutes, and bullies ; of an army of upwards of 60,000 ill-doers ; of the lepers of the moral world, with fierce and bestial countenances, speaking a pestilent language unknown to decency ; of orgies where in brutal quarrels blood is often mingled with wine.”

In *Fors Clavigera* Mr. Ruskin gives a similar description of the vile and poverty-stricken aspect of London.

In condemning pauperism and advocating its extinction, social reformers have often to encounter the stubborn opposition of the Christian fanatics who regard poverty to be a more favourable state for the life of a true Christian than riches. This belief in the great advantage and merits of poverty is chiefly founded on two sayings of Christ—“ Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven ;” and, “ It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.” On these words Roman Catholics founded their doctrine of voluntary poverty, disdaining the material welfare of mankind, even to the endurance of hunger, hair cloth and sandals, bad food, hard beds, and shorn heads.

Louis Blanc argues very successfully and effectively against this absurd doctrine, saying :—“ Is it needful to declare that suffering (through poverty) is for ever sacred ? Suffering was sacred in the apostle, who for the propagation of new ideas devoted himself to severe privations and nameless fatigues ; it was sacred in the martyr, the enthusiastic and invincible soldier of Christ : it could not be sacred either in tho

hermit, forgetting the service of man that in voluntary exile he might pour forth groans full of himself; nor in the devotee, bent on humiliating, by an useless and slow suicide, his own body, the inviolable work of God."

Voluntary suffering is only sacred when endured for the service of others. Those who suffer for the sake of others will, in a communistic state, be the poor, of whom Christ spoke in the Sermon on the Mount; and this kind of voluntary abnegation, self-sacrifice, and devotion to the service of others, may even largely exist in the future state of society, and may become more meritorious in a true Christian sense than involuntary pauperism is now considered to be.

CHAPTER II.—OF LUXURY AND IDLENESS.

"The shreds and trimmings from the extravagance of the rich would be sufficient to supply the necessities of the poor."—GOLDSMITH, in the "*Vicar of Wakefield*."

THE excesses of luxury, as indulged in by modern society, are very ably depicted by Louis Blanc in the following few words:—"The privileged classes of our days are sunk in sensualism; they have invented unheard-of refinements in luxury: pleasure is their religion; they have pushed the dominion of the senses to the very limits of fancy; for them, to employ life is nothing, to enjoy it is everything." The refinements in the art of perfumery which administer to the gratification of the sense of smelling, are a striking illustration of Louis Blanc's assertion. It is also a well-known fact, that many ladies are accustomed to wash their faces and hands in pure cream, and are quite unconscious of the sinful waste they make with one of the most precious alimentary substances for the maintenance of human life.

That luxury had, even in Plato's time, been practised to a great extent, we learn from the following passage, in which he describes the 'inhabitants of a true city, living a simple mode of life, as being contented with houses, clothes, and shoes, but that those of an inflated or luxurious city required beds, tables, and all other articles of furniture,—seasonings,

unguents, and perfumes, mistresses, confections, all kinds of sportsmen and imitative artists, manufacturers of all sorts of trinkets, especially of those belonging to female attire, servants, nurses, hairdressers, barbers, confectioners, and cooks."

After having proposed, in his "Model Republic," the means of counteracting luxury, Glaucon in the Dialogue with Socrates, exclaims:—"By the dog, we have been once more, unconsciously, cleansing our city, which had become luxurious."

If Athens indulged to a great extent in luxury, Sparta, on the other hand, abstained from it; for we read that the respectable women of that communistic state wore iron rings, and gowns of one simple colour, and that gold rings and gowns of variegated colours were only worn by harlots.

That the Icarians were addicted to excessive luxury, before they adopted the communistic organization of their country, we learn from Cabet, who says:—"Before Icaria was transformed into a communistic state, luxury knew no bounds; vast fortunes were absorbed in satisfying the craving for splendid mansions, exquisite furniture, fine attire, rich food, numerous servants, fine horses and carriages. There were often concentrated upon the person of one single rich lady more riches in gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, feathers, lace, and, costly attire of priceless value, than would have sufficed to lodge, feed, and clothe a thousand poor unfortunate people."

That a reasonable use of articles of luxury may be even introduced by a communistic state, Cabet shows in the following passage:—"The Icarians have not altogether banished luxury from their country; but they have adopted for the prevention of its abuse three fundamental rules: 1. That the production of all objects of luxury be authorized by the people; 2. That the agreeable and pleasant be not searched after before the necessary and useful have been provided for; 3. That no other pleasure be afforded than that which can be enjoyed by all."

Sir Thomas More attributes the practice of luxury to the existence of money, saying:—"We, who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury."

He condemns the love of luxury by two beautiful poetic arguments, saying:—"The Utopians wonder how anyone should be so much taken with the glaring, doubtful lustre of a

jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star, or to the sun himself, or how anyone should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread; for, how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still, for all its wearing it."

And by similar poetic means and charming arrangements, he contrives to counteract the evil influences of the love of luxury, saying:—"The Utopians find pearls on their coasts, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks; they do not look after them, but, if they find them perchance, they polish them, and with them adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that no one but children uses such baubles, they, of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside, and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys."

He also condemns as luxury things hitherto considered legitimate and rightful pastimes, saying:—"Among those foolish pursuits of pleasure, the Utopians reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them."

Of the suppression of luxury in dress, he says:—"As to the clothes of the Utopians, observe how little work is spent in them; while they are at labour they are clothed with leather and skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years."

Babeuf says the same in these words:—"Costly furniture and clothing should give way to a rustic simplicity."

The luxury of riding on horseback is advised by Cabet, not so much as a pleasure, but as an excellent sanitary exercise. He suggests that every adult, male and female, shall periodically (every ten days), have a horse taken for that purpose from the national stables. The author of this book thinks, however, that the work of feeding, cleaning, brushing and saddling the horses, and cleansing the stables, which of course is to be shared by all, will soon limit, if not put a stop to, this sanitary pleasure.

That idleness is a species of luxury, and was even greatly abounding in More's own time, he tells us in these words:—“There is a great number of noblemen among you that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labour, or the labour of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This, indeed, is the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves; but beside this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living.”

The contrast between luxury and misery is referred to in righteous indignation by the same writer, in these words:—“What justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labour so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without him, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than his? for though the beasts do no work so constantly, yet they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure; and have no anxiety about what is to come, whilst these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehension of want in their old age; since that which they get by their daily labour does not maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in, there is no overplus left to lay up for old age.”

Who the idlers are, Sir Thomas More tells us in this passage:—“Consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women, who are the half of mankind, generally do little; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle; then consider the great company of idle priests and of those that are called religious men; and add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons that are kept more for show than use; add to these all those strong and lusty beggars that go about pretending some disease in excuse for their begging; and upon the

whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labour mankind is supplied is much less than you, perhaps, imagined."

Cabet speaks of similar classes of idlers having infested Icaria before its regeneration, saying:—"Before adopting community-life, Icaria was also troubled with two more great evils, idleness and useless labour. Only count up the number of idlers amongst our former aristocracy, of public functionaries, civil servants, police, soldiery, valets, monks and nuns, and of workmen producing articles of luxury, and you will see that we have gained millions of hands that were lost to useful work."

Fourier refers to various species of idlers now preying upon society, saying, "As useless employments in which people waste the labour, not only of their arms, but also of their intellects, must be considered the occupation of clerks, agents, and others employed in the various administrations, commercial and fiscal, the custom-houses and the courts. The agents of commerce (and Fourier himself was one of them) alone, dealers, merchants, bankers, brokers, unproductive middlemen (who buy and sell again, basing their operations on fraud, monopoly, usury, and stock-jobbing), might easily be reduced to one-tenth, as might the carriers." And also, "The disorder in labour and the partition of household cause a crowd of unproductive agents, who constitute at least two-thirds of the population. This also is an unfailing source of misery, corruption, and disorder."

Mr. Mill, in his criticism of Le Comte's later speculations, says:—"M. Comte's system allows of no idle rich. A life made up of mere amusement and self-indulgence, though not interdicted by law, is to be deemed so disgraceful that nobody with the smallest sense of shame would choose to be guilty of it. Here we think M. Comte has lighted on a true principle; towards which the tone of opinion in modern Europe is more and more tending, and which is destined to be one of the constitutive principles of regenerated society."

That idleness is considered a crime amongst the Icarians we learn from Cabet, who says:—"Of idlers, there are none in Icaria. How can you suppose that there are such, when work is made so attractive, and when idleness and laziness are re-

garded as infamous amongst the Icarians, as theft is elsewhere?"

Babeuf states both the criminal character of idleness and its punishment in the future social state, saying, "The supreme administration condemns to forced labour individuals of both sexes, whose idleness has set pernicious examples to society."

Saint Simon has acquired great celebrity for his proposal of abolishing inheritance, not merely for the reason of its being a privilege of birth, but also in order to destroy, by its abolition, one great source of idleness. Here are his own words on the subject:—"Society is composed of idlers and workers; a policy ought to aim at the amelioration, moral, physical, and intellectual, of the workers, and of the gradual extinction of the idlers. The means of accomplishing these ends are, as to idlers, the abolition of all privileges of birth [he ought to have added, "and of wealth," implying the abolition of money]; and as to the workers, their classification according to their capacities and their remuneration according to their works." Evidently Saint Simon is not a communist, but a socialist; nevertheless, as all socialists agree in this one point, that idleness must be suppressed, they are not far behind the communists.

It has already been stated in various former chapters, that one of the most efficient checks against idleness will be the curtailment and deprivation of a man's civil and political privileges; amongst which the legitimate cessation of labour at the age of fifty, with all the privileges beginning at that period of life, will be the one which every man will most anxiously endeavour to keep intact from partial or total loss.

If this mode of punishing idleness should, however, prove ineffective, the severer methods spoken of by Babeuf may be resorted to; and this especially on the ground that the idler who makes another man work for him is nothing less than a tyrant; and tyranny, enacting, in this instance, slavery, is to be put down by the severest punishment, amongst which will be the criminal's choice between idleness and starvation,* or labour and living.

* "No man shall eat except of that which, by his labour, he has created." This is a fundamental principle—indeed, it may be said to be the fundamental principle—of society in *Etymonia*. If a man does not create what we will call his *economic counterpoise*, he must starve in *Ety-*

that weigh hard upon the poor, there are few more oppressive than the extortionate demands of retailers."

Cabet mentions some of the evils of the wholesale trade, and of the fatal influences of unsuccessful financial operations, saying :—" Icaria had formerly its innumerable bankruptcies and colossal failures, which did not stop where they began, but in their rebounds often reached the remotest connections, causing, finally, commercial panics, and spreading ruin and terror amongst the whole of the commercial world."

When the traveller in Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* was on the point of crossing the frontier into Icaria, he was, however, informed that things had now totally altered, and was addressed in these words :—" If you intend to visit Icaria for the purpose of buying merchandise there, you had better not go there, for they sell nothing; and if you want to go there for the sake of selling, stop again at home, for they buy nothing."

That wholesale and retail trade are entirely unknown in Icaria may be gathered from the following dialogue in *Voyage en Icarie* :—

" You have, then, no shops in Icaria, no magazines, no store-rooms and private warehouses," said I to Valmor when he entered.

" None," answered he; " but the state possesses large workshops and immense magazines and store-rooms. Icar has delivered us from the vexatious care of shopkeeping."

Robert Owen likewise expects the total suppression of trading, and says :—" The great occupation of traffic and exchange will be nearly, if not entirely, suspended." So completely did he contemplate the total cessation of commerce and the formation of society into self-supporting colonies, that he anticipated a time when no medium of exchange would be required.

All manner of trading having once been suppressed, the distribution of produce devolves upon the state, and the new arrangements which will then become necessary are happily described by many social reformers.

Babeuf says :—" To the end that partiality should not disturb the social tranquility, it is necessary that all the productions of the land and of industry should be deposited in public

magazines, from whence they should issue, to be distributed equally to the citizens."

Cabet says :—" All the produce of agriculture and industry is deposited in the public store-rooms." He gives the distribution of clothing as an illustration, saying :—" All the clothing required is made in large quantities, and often at the same time. It is afterwards deposited in the national magazines, where everyone can instantly find all the necessary garments which are due to him, according to his rightful claim. Personal caprices in dress and the ridiculous variations of fashions will, however, be disregarded, and waste of labour and materials will thereby be greatly avoided."

On the distribution of food he has the following :—" This will be facilitated by the number of inhabitants of each Associated Home remaining always stationary or complete. By this arrangement the necessary quantity of bread, meat, vegetables, tea, coffee, milk, butter, cheese, etc., is known before they are drawn from the public provision halls and stores."

From *Voyage en Icarie* we learn that the public magazines and national storehouses can be laid out in an attractive manner, both internally and externally :—" Carilla, in telling the history of Icaria, gave also a description of the splendid aspect of the national magazines and bazaars, saying, ' What are the finest shops of London and Paris in comparison with the store and showrooms of Icaria ! Imagine the whole of the jewellers' shops being united into one grand establishment; imagine all branches of industry exhibiting their productions in vast and artistically arranged repositories, and you will conceive that the splendour of these national magazines must eclipse the shops of the whole world.' "

Of the exterior aspect of these buildings in Icaria, we read :—" The quays and docks of the ports of Icaria are lined with spacious wharfs and magnificent storehouses."

That the aspect of all towns in the future social state will be greatly different from that of the existing cities of old societies, we infer from Cabet's words :—" In the towns of Icaria you see neither public-houses nor coffee-rooms, neither banks nor brothels, neither prostitutes nor mendicants, neither hotels nor almshouses."

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people being sole proprietor of all wealth, it belongs only to the people to treat with foreigners for the mutual exchange of superfluities. A traffic of this kind cannot be intrusted to other than responsible magistrates, without returning to the evils inseparable from private or individual property, and exposing the state to new corruption. It thence follows that all commercial relations with foreigners ought to be subjected to the superior direction of the Republic."

As arrangements for this kind of trade, Babeuf's conspiracy for equality suggests the following four:—

"Art. 1. The Republic forbids all private commerce with foreigners.

"Art. 2. The Republic procures for the national community whatever commodities it wants, by exchanging its superfluous productions of agriculture, industry, and art for those of foreign states.

"Art. 4. The supreme administration negotiates with foreigners through its agents.

"Art. 5. These agents are frequently changed."

Cabet coincides with the views expressed in chapter xxv., and expects the same efficiency and benefits from external commerce carried on and directed by the administration of the state, saying:—"Who could ever rival the power of trading, when once placed into the hands of the state itself? Transactions would no longer be confined to the whims and ignorance of private parties, but would take place between states and nations, who, possessing all necessary information as to the amount of produce to be exported and imported in exchange, would thus avoid over-production, over-importation, and undue competition."

How the distribution of produce is effected in Utopia we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"In Utopia every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a market place: what is brought thither and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes, and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it or leaving anything in exchange."

CHAPTER IV.—MONEY.

“ Gold ! yellow, glittering, precious gold !
 Thus much of this, will make black white ; foul, fair ;
 Wrong, right ; base, noble ; old, young ; coward, valiant.
 This yellow slave
 Will knit and break religions ; bless the accurs'd ;
 Make the hoar leprosy ador'd ; place thieves
 And give them title, knee, and approbation
 With senators of the bench : this is it,
 That makes the wappen'd widow wed again.”

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

THE great evils caused by the existence of money and riches have been pointed out by many profound thinkers of ancient times, but more so by the great social theorists of modern ages.

John Locke declares, in his work on “ Civil Government,” that “ he who possesses more than he wants, passes the limits of reason and justice, and takes away what belongs to others. All superfluity is an usurpation, and the right of the indigent ought to awake the remorse of the rich. Perverse rich, swimming in opulence and voluptuousness, tremble, if one day the unfortunate, being in want and misery, should learn to well know the rights of man.”

In another of his writings, he says :—“ Fraud and avarice have produced that inequality in fortunes which causes so much misery to mankind in heaping up vices with riches and sufferings with poverty. A philosopher must, then, consider the use of money as one of the most lamentable inventions in human institutions.”

Mably, a celebrated French author, says :—“ The existing institutions favour the acquisition of riches, and incite to luxury, cupidity, and ambition, destroying the action of mutual benevolence, which alone can produce peace and happiness in society.”

Proudhon says :—“ The greed of wealth, and the mania for pleasure, are two of the evils that cause the existing social disorder.”

Cabet says :—“ Money, property, and inequality of fortune

are the chief causes of all vices and crimes amongst the rich as well as amongst the poor."

Louis Blanc draws the following sad picture of the debasing influence of money on literature:—"Many a writer makes a market of his genius, and makes books only to accumulate a fortune. In order to do this he must be a slave to the taste of the public, to flatter its prejudices, to crown its ignorance, to compound with its errors, to tickle its evil passions; others are deterred from speaking the truth, for they know that in soliciting buyers for their works, they would have to hear exclamations like these: 'What! in exchange for my gold you shame my stupidity, you insult my egotism, you disturb the enjoyment of my ill-gotten wealth, you alarm me for the future? Your wisdom is too costly, I will have none of it.' Thus does thought lose its character of instructor, and its moral authority."

Cabet calls money a pest in society, as will be seen in the following passage from his *Voyage en Icarie*:—"Since the traveller who has just arrived in Icaria has already been reminded that buying and selling are unknown amongst the Icarians, and that the use of money is interdicted in their country, thanks to Icar, their great and good reformer, who has delivered us from this pest, he had better deposit at the frontier all the money he has in his possession, and it will be given back to him at his departure."

In the following passage Sir Thomas More mentions the evil effects of money, and speaks of it as a regardless and callous purchase power, saying, "Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet, if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery, and that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity. So easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life if that blessed thing called money, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them, were not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured."

As a confirmation of the actual operation of this nefarious

action of money, it must be mentioned that during the Irish famine, and while more than one million of the people of that unhappy country died by starvation, great quantities of provisions—ham, bacon, butter, etc.—were exported from the famine-stricken land.

That the suppression of money must inevitably lead to the extinction of many evils which now more or less afflict society is asserted by Sir Thomas More in the following passage:—"The use as well as the desire of money being extinguished among the Utopians, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief are cut off with it; and who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, and murders would all fall off if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solicitudes, cares, labours, and watchings would all perish in the same moment with the value of money; even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall."

Of hoarded money, Sir Thomas More says:—"Can it be thought that they who heap up a useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow of joy."

Bronterre O'Brien, an able author, and a zealous advocate of the doctrine of Communism, says of interest derived from capital:—"Money should not be allowed to grow money, as cabbage grows cabbage, or weeds grow weeds. To employ money in that way is not to use the right of property, but to practise robbery."

That usury and the exaction of interest on the compound principle were openly practised in ancient Greece, and also condemned for their evil influences, we infer from Plato's "Republic," where we meet these words:—"The usurers, bent on their own interest, wound all that ever yield to them, by advancing them money and by getting multiplied interest for the parent principal."

And in another place in the same work we read, "Riches engender luxury, idleness, and love of innovation."

Other evils of the existence of money are pointed out in Plato's "Republic" in these terms:—"As for the least important evils, our guardians will be relieved of many—the power,

for instance, as regards the work of flattering the rich ; and the difficulties and anxieties which people have in bringing up their children, and procuring money for the support of servants,—sometimes borrowing, sometimes denying debts, and at other times using all manner of shifts in procuring money, and then giving it to the management of their wives and domestics ;—about these matters, friend, how many slavish and ignoble troubles they suffer are not even worthy to be mentioned."

That riches debase labour, Plato ably demonstrates in the following dialogue :—“With respect to all other artificers again, consider whether these things corrupt them, so as to make them bad workmen.’ ‘To what do you allude?’ ‘Riches,’ said I, ‘and poverty.’ ‘As how?’ ‘Thus: Would the potter, think you, after he has become rich, have any desire still to mind his art?’ ‘By no means,’ said he. ‘But will he not become more idle and careless than he was before?’ ‘Much more so.’ ‘Will he not then become a worse potter?’ ‘This, too, much more so,’ said he. ‘And, moreover, being unable, through poverty, to supply himself with tools, or other requisites of his art, his workmanship will be more imperfectly executed, and his sons, or others whom he instructs, will be inferior artists?’ ‘Of course they will.’ ‘Owing to both these causes then, namely, poverty and riches, the workmanship in the arts becomes inferior, and the artists themselves inferior too.’”

Plato, with deep philosophical insight, very ably but somewhat sarcastically exposes the vanity of riches, and their entire uselessness under certain conditions and circumstances of human life ; saying :—“On warlike expeditions, either as fellow-sailors or fellow-soldiers, or when they see one another in real danger, the poor in this case are by no means despised by the rich. Very often a robust fellow, poor and sunburnt, whose post in battle is by the side of a rich man, bred up in the shade, and swoln with much unnecessary fat, if he should see him panting for breath and in agony,—think you not, he will consider such persons to grow rich to their own injury, and will say to his fellows, when meeting in private, that our rich men are good for nothing ?”

These observations of Plato are of immense value for the

advocate of Communism, for from them he is led to argue that if common cause is made and common exertion is resorted to in cases of danger, the same should take place under all circumstances of safety and enjoyment.

Money having thus been found the root of all evils, the same voices of criticism and social reform condemn it to be abolished as a useless and even despicable social institution.

Helvetius says :—" To remedy the evil of social inequality, we would have to alter our laws, change our government, and especially suppress money, which facilitates the inequalities of fortune."

Cabet says :—" Amongst the Icarians everybody receives everything he wants, in kind, and direct from the national magazines ; money, buying and selling having become entirely useless amongst them."

Robert Owen says :—" Abolish gold, as a standard of value, and substitute labour in its stead ; for everyone who can labour has in his person a command of wealth, whether he has a purse of gold in his pocket or not."

And again :—" Of all metals, gold and silver are the most worthless ; their introduction into mercantile transactions is quite unnecessary ; the only object they effect is to produce a tyranny of capital, to give an advantage to the rich, which they use to oppress the poor ; the simplest remedy, therefore, is to abolish them. All wealth is produced by labour. Gold and silver contribute nothing to fertilize the earth ; it is by the sweat that falls from the brow of industry that her treasures are obtained ; to industry, therefore, and not to gold be the reward ; for as a great writer has well said :—" Celui qui mange dans l'oisiveté ce qu'il n'a pas gagné lui-même le vole."

Sir Thomas More first states that money is abolished in Utopia, and gives various reasons for its suppression, saying :—" The Utopians use no money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events, such as war, famine, conflagrations, flood, etc. The Utopians eat and drink out of vessels of earth or glass, which make an agreeable appearance, though formed of brittle materials ; while they make their chamber-pots and closet-stools of gold and silver, and that not only in their public halls, but also in their private houses. As the

Utopians have no use for money among themselves, it is plain that they must prefer iron either to gold or silver; for man can no more live without iron than without fire or water; but nature has marked out no use for the other metals so essential as not easily to be dispensed with." "The folly of man has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity; whereas, on the contrary, it is their (the Utopians') opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless."

In the following passage Plato adduces a very gentle argument in favour of the abolition of money, saying :—" We must tell our guardians that they have ever in their souls from the gods a divine gold and silver, and therefore have no need of that which is human; and that it were profane to pollute the possession of the divine ore, by mixing it with the alloy of the mortal metal, because the money of the vulgar has produced many impious deeds, while that which they have is pure; and that of all men in the city, they alone should not be allowed to handle or touch gold or silver, or harbour it under their roof, or carry it about, nor to drink out of silver or gold."

Proudhon addresses a severe admonition to the rich, saying :—" Let the rich be the first desirous of making restitution, and may the promptitude of their regret secure their absolution. Then shall great and little, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, unite in ineffable fraternity."

The philosophy of the ancients condemning the usage of money, did not remain without its influence upon legislation, for we read of various measures having been applied to circumscribe its power by direct and indirect barriers.

In prohibiting the use of silver and gold coins amongst the Spartans, and allowing them only that of iron ones, Lycurgus virtually enacted a direct interference with the circulating power of money.

Solon, the great Athenian law-giver, attacked riches in a more indirect manner, for we read that in 549 B.C. he nullified all debts in Athens, he himself giving the example by absolving all his debtors. He further reduced the prizes

awarded to the victorious competitors at the Olympian games, and limited the dowries of brides to only three gowns.

In more modern times we read of but one instance where the question of the abolition of money and the community of goods was brought to a practical issue. This happened in 1530, when Mathysson, a leader of the Anabaptists, who, during the Peasants' War in Germany, had taken possession of the town of Münster, persuaded its inhabitants to deliver up all their gold, silver, and other moveable goods for the common use amongst all.

Cabet states that in Icaria the rich, in a similar manner, voluntarily divested themselves of their money and treasures :—“ After thirty years of transition, the rich felt no difficulty in voluntarily depositing in the national magazines all their objects of luxury,—diamonds, jewellery, and other costly things; for not feeling any reasonable use for them, they had no interest in keeping them. They did the same with their money, as it had become entirely useless to them. Debtors likewise discharged their liabilities into the national treasury instead of paying their creditors.”

Babeuf and his associates composed a draught of economical laws for the emendation of the democratic constitution of 1793, in which the abolition of money is partially proposed, being only carried out within the circle of the communistic federation, which they imagined could be established in France, as a kind of state in a state, by the voluntary adoption of community life by a great number of the people, without arbitrarily forcing anyone into it. The following four articles of this document refer to the abolition of money :—

“ Art I. The Republic coins no more money.

“ Art II. The monied metals, or materials which may lapse into the national community, will be employed to purchase the commodities required from foreign parts.

“ Art III. Every individual, not participating in the community, who shall be convicted of having offered any species of money to one of its members, will be severely punished.

“ Art IV. There shall be no more gold and silver introduced into the Republic.”

The beneficial effects derived from the abolition of money are referred to by Cabet in these words :—

“ Under a strict community life, and superior education, the Icarians are almost free of crimes. No kind of theft is known among them, because there is no money, and everyone gets what he wants. Only those out of their senses would be capable of committing theft ; and everyone being happy, there are no suicides nor murders.”

In order to justify the acquisition of wealth and the accumulation of capital, Mr. Sargent introduces, at the very opening chapter of his work, “ The Social Innovators and their Schemes,” the parable of the saving and thrifless brothers, saying :—“ Two brothers worked both in the same employment, were equally skilful, equally vigorous, equally industrious, and therefore earned the same wages. But though both of them were men of sober and temperate habits, the one took the greater pleasure in spending his money, the other in saving it ; the one married early, had a well-furnished house, smart clothes, and regular meals ; the other remained many years a bachelor, dressed ever in fustian, and pinched his appetite. The thrifty brother before he had reached middle life had saved a few hundred pounds, with which he entered into business on his own account. Now tell me, is not this man, after his long-continued frugality, as well entitled to the income resulting from his self-denial, as the other brother to the wages earned by his daily toil ? ”

This fable does not very favourably contrast with the philosophical aspect of the acquisition of wealth, which Plato analyses in this manner :—“ A man, humbled by poverty, and turning his attention to gain, lives meanly and sparingly, and by hand-labour acquires wealth ; do you not think that such a man will seat on that throne of his soul a covetous and money-loving spirit, making it a mighty king within himself, and girding it, as it were, with tiaras and bracelets and sceptres ? As for the principles of reason and high spirit, having laid them both at his feet on either side as mere slaves, he forbids the one to reason at all, or at any rate to enquire into aught else, except by what means a smaller amount of property can be made greater ; and the other, again, to achieve and honour anything but riches and the rich, and to receive honour with

any other view than acquisition of money, or whatever else may tend thereto."

Modern social theorists answer the objection against communism conveyed by the parable of the saving and thriftless brothers thus:—If the frugal man wishes to practise abstinence in food, clothes, furniture and other things, he can do the same to any extent in the communistic state, and moreover, he will then enjoy the gratification that in doing so he has also done good to others by saving their labour. Abstinence in this sense may even become a realization of Christian charity to him. In old society a man saves in order to become the master in his handicraft or trade; in the new social state he can likewise become a superintendent or director of work without the trouble of pinching his appetite, and without the application of any other mode of saving and self-denial.

CHAPTER V.—*ABOLITION OF PROPERTY.*

THOSE who oppose the abolition of private property, frequently assert that by such a measure the basis on which all institutions are at present founded would be removed. This objection is a mere gratuitous assumption which is devoid of solid argument. Society does not depend upon any property arrangements, but has its existence guaranteed, certainly at present, in an inefficient manner, by the protection of the natural rights of man, of which there are but two, namely, the right to existence and the right to freedom, which any person can claim to the fullest extent so far as he does not trench on the right of others. All persons can have an equal share in these claims. Equality is the touchstone of their genuineness, and proves them to be the true natural rights of man. The right to private property stands no such test, and is, consequently, no natural right.

Proudhon, with deep philosophical acumen, points to another striking difference between the nature of these two rights and that of property, saying:—"Property is not a right of the same kind with security (existence) and liberty, for the latter cannot be alienated or transmitted like the former."

Someone attempted a contradiction to this maxim, by asking, "Cannot a man sell himself into servitude, or consent to be murdered, and by these means alienate or forfeit both his liberty and existence?" Proudhon was no longer alive when this question was raised; but we may be sure that he would have answered it to the effect that the man who thus forfeits liberty and existence is of unsound mind, and no more to be taken as a rational being. Besides, his life and liberty are the property of the community, and he has no right to dispose of them without the consent of the state.

Robespierre's "Declaration of the Rights of Men" places an important limit to the right of property, which there ceases to rank in the number of principal rights, to give place to the right to existence, for Article II. of this declaration says, "The principal rights of man are those for providing for the preservation of his existence and liberty."

The insurrectional committee of Babeuf's conspiracy for equality likewise acknowledges that individual property, so far from emanating from the law of nature, is but an invention of the civil law, and may, like it, be modified and abolished. It also lays down the principle, that the proprietorship of all the wealth comprised within the national territory is one and indivisible, and belongs, inalienably, to the people, which alone has the right of repartition as regards its enjoyment and usufructuary possession.

Proudhon likewise proves the subjugation of the right of property to a superior social power which imposes taxes on it and compels it to pay poor-rates, by which the rightful claim of the indigent to existence in the land of their birth is, in principle, admitted, but far from being carried out according to the behests of justice.

Private property finds its most powerful representative in the possession of the land. The origin of landed property must be traced to the time when men, emerging from their primitive savage state, began to settle upon the land. These first settlements were made by the right of the first comers, who generally occupied a large extent of country in tribes, holding this newly acquired property in common. Some of these tribes would naturally begin to build habitations, and in order to secure these against the general insecurity of the

times, they would begin to fortify them, and in this manner strong castles and inwalled towns would gradually spring up.

In selecting the sites of these strongholds, the most inaccessible rocks in mountains and lakes, and the highest elevations of the level country, would naturally be chosen. These isolated natural advantages would always secure greater power to the occupiers of these strongholds, and they would soon find it easy to appropriate to themselves part of the land adjoining their strongholds, whilst the greater part of the land would still remain common land. Thus a great part of property becomes established by physical force, assisted by the mere chance that there were some inaccessible rocks or elevations in the country. This brings us down to a not remote period, when in England, for instance, whole counties were yet unenclosed. Arrived at this period, the occupiers of fortified towns and castles would begin to coalesce and form a parliament, through which they would obtain, if not permission to enclose, at least no essential disturbance in their process of enclosure; which they have not quite accomplished up to the present day, for it is stated that there are still millions of acres of common land remaining untouched by the grasping process of enclosure.

The right of conquest, especially if extending over large tracts of land or whole empires, is also considered to be a legitimate title to the possession of property. It is but too true that this right has, in many instances, been exercised with great cruelty to the dispossessed, especially so by the Normans in England, by the English in Ireland and Scotland, and by the Franks in France. But it is also to be noticed that conquest in more modern times has almost abandoned the right of seizing the landed property of private persons and handing it over, in the old Roman fashion, to the common soldiers of the conquering armies. The French in conquering Italy and part of Germany under the first Napoleon, the Austrians in Italy, the Americans in Mexico, the English in India, did nothing of the kind, but left the people in the undisturbed possession of their agricultural holdings.

Conquest in feudal times was generally fatal to all those previous property arrangements through which nations, tribes, and corporations endeavoured to secure to each of their members a

due share in the produce of the land ; which was the purpose of the Brehon law in Ireland, of the clanship in Scotland, of the common pastures in England, and of the usage of common sheep-walks still prevalent in Spain to the present day. These modes of the use of common property, mostly consisting of grass lands, on which large herds of cattle and sheep found more than sufficient food without requiring much labour from the hands of man, vindicated a great principle of justice, namely, that all men have an equal right to the free gifts of nature, of which the land and the fatness thereof are the principal. The vindication of this principle may even now be invoked for the equal partition of the produce of the land amongst all the members of the community, although more labour is now spent in the cultivation of enclosed fields than was formerly required on the common lands.

"Nature," says Cabet, "is still the great cultivator of the earth ; for it is light, heat, and rain that fertilizes the land. Nobody has, therefore, an exclusive right of receiving these benefits to the detriment of others. Therefore landed property is an usurpation and monopoly."

Those political economists who admit that labour alone can give a legitimate title to property, must certainly concede this much, that at least that part of the fruits of the earth which owes its growth, not to human labour, but to sunshine, dew, and rain, cannot rightfully be claimed by any private occupier, if he worked ever so hard. How can these wiseacres of political economists explain away the glaring monopoly of a man gathering fruit from an orchard year after year, the trees of which he has perhaps not even planted himself ?

It has been objected that if land was made national property, it would be difficult to manage it. The same might be said of many things which are now managed by public bodies for the common use of the people,—as, for instance, highways, roads, the pavement for pedestrians along the houses in towns; canals, ports, bridges, harbours, lighthouses, telegraphs; public buildings, museums, picture galleries, monuments, schools, churches, etc. ; which, in comparison to private property, show a decided superiority in the systematic order of their management. The advantage of the public management of roads, bridges, pavements, harbours, and lighthouses, gas and water works, is

especially very conspicuous in England and America; and from it we can infer that if, for instance, a beautiful pavement for pedestrians like that in London can be laid down under public management, the adjoining houses could as easily and beautifully have been built under the same direction ; and if the construction of houses, why not the manufacture of furniture, of clothing, and likewise the preparation and distribution of food, etc. ?

Proudhon, in his treatise, "*La Propriété c'est le Vol,*" put down the assertion, that property is impossible, and if impossible, that it is not property, but robbery.

For the support of this proposition he uses the following arguments ; to each of which a practical explanation is added by the author of this book.

1. Property is impossible, or, what is the same, inadmissible, because it exacts something out of nothing. This is the case when houseowners receive rent for houses for which the cost of construction has long ago been repaid.

2. Property is inadmissible because, wherever it is allowed, production costs more than it is worth. This takes place when a manufacturer has to add a surplus price to the value of the articles manufactured by him, in order to defray, not only the ordinary cost of labour, capital, and material, but also to pay rent to the landlord upon whose ground the factory stands, and to whom the premises often belong. And to cover contingent losses, another percentage is added.

3. Property is inadmissible because, on a given capital, production is in proportion to labour, and not in proportion to property. If so, capital makes profit out of labour, and not of property. For instance, if a capitalist invested £1000 in the purchase of 1000 acres of uncultivated prairie-land in America, and set a number of men to work to burn the grass and sow the corn on the burnt ground, and thus obtained a rich harvest the very first year of his purchase, the production of corn is in exact proportion to the labour employed in the cultivation, and stands in no proportion whatever to the capital invested ; for the harvest would have been no less if the land had been made a free gift to him, and had cost nothing at all.

4. Property is inadmissible because its power of accumulation

is infinite. This is certainly true of money, and partly also of landed property. Money accumulates not only by means of compound interest, but more so by successful financial operations. The accumulation of landed property, and the increase and extension of landed estates, as it is now going on in England, Ireland, Scotland, and America, is certainly injurious to the people of these countries; for the owners of these enlarged estates are accustomed to lay out large tracts of their land in parks, deer-forests or sheep-walks,—a process by which the late Duchess of Sutherland evicted 60,000 persons from the land of their birth, and which the present Duke of Sutherland lately imitated to some extent in the island of Skye. It is quite possible that more of these large landed estates may, through marriage and purchase, become farther amalgamated into fewer but larger ones, and it is even to be apprehended that, through purchase, especially if free-trade in land should be granted, as Bright and Cobden so often demanded, there should, at some future time, be but one land, and one owner thereof.

5. Property is inadmissible because it is the mother of tyranny. How it introduces a disguised state of tyranny has been shown in a preceding chapter of this book.

6. Property is inadmissible because it is homicidal. To instance this, we have only to state the number of agrarian outrages committed in Ireland from 1844 to 1869, which, according to parliamentary papers, amounts to the enormous total of 13,475 outrages of all kinds, amongst which there were 199 homicides, 2,346 incendiary fires, 844 cases of killing, cutting, and maiming cattle, and 852 cases of injury to property.

7. Property is inadmissible because it is the negation of equality. In this Proudhon is borne out by Sir Thomas More, who says:—"When I compare the Utopians with so many other nations that are still making new laws (the Irish land laws and transfer of land in England), where, notwithstanding everyone has his property, yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it; of which the many lawsuits that every day break out and are eternally depending give too plain a demonstration. When I say I balance all these things in my thought, I grow more favourable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved not to

make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things."

And again :—" So wise a man as Plato could not but foresee that the settling all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is property."

And also :—" I am persuaded that, till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things." Therefore, as Proudhon says, private property is the negation of equality.

And, finally, Sir Thomas More passes this condemnation on property :—" To speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily."

Plato himself says :—" Our guardians ought to have neither houses of their own, nor land, nor any possessions, but to receive their subsistence from others, as a reward for their guardianship, and all to consume it in common."

Babeuf criticises property in these words :—" It is individual property by which the craftiest, least conscientious, and luckiest have despoiled and, incessantly, despoil the multitude, who, bound down to wearisome and painful labour, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and badly lodged, deprived of enjoyments they see superfluously multiplied for others, and undermined by misery, by ignorance, by envy, and by despair, both in their physical and moral strength, behold in society only a deadly enemy, and lose even the possibility of having a country ;" for the land is occupied by a few great landowners, and the multitude are shut out from it.

The author thinks this to be the place where to insert an argument of his own against the maintenance of private property. It is to the effect that the results, effects, and benefits of the greatest discoveries and inventions, and the achievements of the greatest efforts of the human intellect, have, with the lapse of time, become common property. The secret of the compass, of the escapement in watches, of clocks, of book-printing, of lithography, of photography, of the steam-engine, of the telegraph, of the power-loom, of the wool-combing machine, is now divulged to all persons and nations, and has

become common property. The same is the case with all the marvellous productions in arts and discoveries in sciences; the latter of which do not even, from their nature, enjoy protection from patent laws or copyrights, but must be communicated to the scientific world without the briefest delay, in order to secure the priority of discovery. Kepler, Copernicus, and Newton enlightened the world with their astronomical discoveries, and their ideas have become common property. Christopher Columbus discovered America, and Vasca de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and the great ocean ways opened by the labour and ingenuity of those discoverers very soon became used by all nations, without the least regard being paid, or reward being offered to the first discoverers and their descendants, although the greatest riches are, up to the present day, conveyed on those routes by the merchant vessels of all nations.

The works of all the great artists and authors of antiquity, as well as of more recent times, have been and are still reproduced in innumerable copies, and have thus become the common storehouse of all.

True it is that in more modern times patents and copyrights are granted for a short number of years to inventors and discoverers, but no state and no political economist has ever yet perceived the inconvenience of securing a short term of right to the possession of the fruits of labour derived from the efforts of genius, while perpetual security is given to the possessor of land which he cultivated or bought.*

* The communistic character of the present law of copyright has not escaped observation, for we read the following in the *Daily News* of June 26th, 1875 :—"What we can't make out is this : if all property in the creation of the law, why should the state step in and confiscate one sort of property while giving to other sorts of property a guarantee for ever ? We are told that it is for the good of the community that the ownerships in ideas should cease at a certain time, so that books may be sold cheap. And what we can't understand is why the same reasoning is not applied to the ownership in land, for example, which is enjoyed in perpetuity. Would it not be on the same line of argument obviously for the greatest good of the greatest number if the state were to confiscate all the freehold property in the country sixteen years after the death of the present owners, sell that property by public auction to such farmers as choose to buy it, guarantee them the ownership for life, and for sixteen years after their death, and put the results of the sale into the Consolidated Fund,

If the labour which fertilizes the fields of science, art, and industry cannot be perpetuated as private property, neither has the cultivator of the fields of the earth, still less the purchaser of land, any right to expect perpetuation of property.

the general purse of the nation. ‘Oh, why, this is rank Communism !’ exclaims the person to whom you submit this proposition. Of course it is. I don’t advocate this gradual seizure of property at all, but I want the gentlemen who have undertaken to enlighten us unfortunate creatures to tell us why there should be one sauce for the goose and another for the gander. Indeed, it seems to me that the law ought more readily to guarantee property in a poem or in a drama than in a piece of land, for the very reason that the author absolutely creates the thing the ownership of which he seeks to enjoy. We only ask the gentlemen who airily assume that the exclusive proprietorship of land, and that for ever and ever, is a right which is not to be questioned, and who tell us that it is for the good of the community that an author’s work should be seized by anyone who pleases, in order that we may have cheap books, to explain why the law should permit Communism in the one case and prohibit it in the other.—**A PUZZLED NOVELIST.**”

P A R T I I.

Of the Fundamental Principles of Communism relating to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THESE three words, adopted as the motto of the first French Republic, contain, in their widest sense, the doctrines of Democracy and Communism. That they have not remained mere empty words and vague aspirations, but have grown into mighty realities which fill the minds of many thinking men with enthusiasm, is acknowledged on all sides. Even the opponents of Communism testify to this fact, and Mr. Stephen does not at all exaggerate the height to which the enthusiasm for the realization of liberty, equality, and fraternity has risen when he says:—"It is one of the commonest beliefs of the day that the human race collectively has before it splendid destinies of various kinds, and that the road to them is to be found in the removal of all restraints on human conduct, in the recognition of a substantial equality between all human creatures, and in fraternity, or general love. The doctrines are, in very many cases, held as religious faith. They are regarded not merely as truths, but as truths for which those who believe in them are ready to do battle, and for the establishment of which they are prepared to sacrifice all merely personal ends."

SECTION I.

LIBERTY.

CHAPTER VI.—OF THE NATURE AND DOMAIN OF LIBERTY.

THAT the present state of society is not congenial to the principle of freedom has been frequently pointed out to the reader in various chapters of this book, more especially in those treating on private property, which was said to perpetrate servitude in disguise, and, in the chapter detailing the wrongs of labour of which the exclusive burden of physical and dangerous work, now borne by the labouring classes alone, was defined as a state of slavery in comparison to the condition of the learned professions whom society now exempts from dangerous and loathsome work. The late Mr. Bronterre O'Brien casts the same blame on the vaunted state of modern society, and shows that we are yet very far from a real state of liberty and freedom, saying :—“ Society has been hitherto constituted upon no fixed principles. The state in which we find it is the blind result of chance. Even its advocates do not claim for it any other origin. The right of the strongest—the only right acknowledged by savage man—appears to be still the fundamental charter of all ‘civilized’ states. The wandering savage asks no other title to his neighbour’s produce than his own superior strength or capacity to take it. The civilized man acts precisely, though disguisedly, on the same principle. Their means are different, but the objects and end are the same. What the savage or uncivilized man does individually and directly, by the exercise of mere personal prowess, the civilized man (so-called) does, collectively and circuitously, by cunningly-designed institutions.”

That so little progress has been made in the realization of true freedom is chiefly owing to a want of knowledge of what the true nature of liberty is. Modern civilization boasts of the progress it has initiated and pursued in behalf of civil and religious liberty, whilst the pretended advancement made concerned only two of the inferior branches of human freedom.

In order to arrive at a true appreciation of the word "liberty," it is necessary to recall to the mind of the reader the definitions given of it by various writers and philosophers. Robespierre says in the first article of his "*Rights of Men*":—"The end of all political association is the maintenance of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, and the development of all his faculties." In the fourth article he gives a more practical meaning to this definition:—"Liberty is the power which belongs to man, of doing all that which does not injure the rights of another: it has nature for its origin, justice for its rule, and the law for its protection; its moral bounds are defined in the maxim, 'Do not to another that which thou dost not wish he should do unto thee.'"

Another article of his "*Rights of Men*" says:—"Liberty is the power which belongs to a man of exercising all his faculties at pleasure. It has the rights of others for its boundaries.

The first French Constitution of 1793, which was elaborated under the influence of Robespierre's ideas, defines liberty in these words:—"Liberty consists in the power to do anything that is not detrimental to others."

From these definitions we obtain a clear insight into the nature of freedom, and learn that its aim is—

1. To maintain man's natural rights, of which the right to a happy existence is the greatest.
2. To secure to every individual the means and power of developing and exercising all his faculties.
3. To protect everyone in the exercise of his freedom,—which negatively means, that freedom is not absolute, but loses its nature as soon as it infringes on the freedom of others. From this third element of the nature of liberty arises one important feature of freedom, which is, that liberty must rely on authority and power for the sake of its own protection. Whenever liberty, or the exercise of the natural rights of an individual, are interfered with, the law, or the authority of the Govern-

ment, must step in and prevent such interference. The sphere and action of this protective authority is well defined by Stuart Mill, who says:—"The sole end for which mankind are warranted in individually or collectively interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection; the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others."

The various domains of human liberty are also admirably enumerated by the same author, who says, in his treatise on "Liberty":—"The appropriate region of human liberty comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness; demanding liberty of conscience in the most comprehensive sense, liberty of thought; feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, and theological. The liberty of expressing and publishing opinions may seem to fall under a different principle, since it belongs to that part of the conduct of an individual which concerns other people, but being almost of as much importance as the liberty of thought itself, and resting in great part on the same reasons, is practically inseparable from it. Secondly, the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits, of framing our plan of life to suit our own character, of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow, without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them. Thirdly, from this liberty of each individual follows the liberty within the same limits of combination among individuals."

SECTION II
THE SUPPORTERS OF LIBERTY.

CHAPTER III.—BY THE DEFENDERS OF LIBERTY.

JOHN STUART MILL'S lesson that self-protection justifies violence upon Liberty, ought to read:—“The advancement and preservation of Liberty alone warrant restraint.” That this restraint must both be legal and moral, was clearly perceived by Rousseau when he said:—“Liberty has the law for its protection, and its moral bounds are defined in the maxim ‘Do not to another that which thou dost not wish to be done to thyself.’”

The connection between power and liberty is also well defined by Mr. Stephen, who says:—“Liberty, from the very nature of things, is dependent upon power: power determines precisely how much and how little individual liberty is to be left to exist at any specific time and place; and it is only under the protection of a powerful, well organised, and intelligent government that any liberty can exist at all.”

The protection of liberty, that is, of the free use by any individual of all the means by which he may secure to himself a happy existence, does not shrink from any means of coercion, when, as Mr. Stephen says, the object is good, and the means of compulsion are adequate. In this sense the great struggles for civil, political, and religious liberty in modern Europe seem to be but rightful cases of coercion for the protection and advancement of human liberty, and the rude means by which the object aimed at was secured were adequate and, in many instances, very inexpensive, as, for instance, in the easy overthrow of royalty in France in 1848, and the establishment of universal suffrage in lieu of a very limited

franchise. Mr. Stephen says the same in these words:—"It surely needs no argument to show that all the great political changes which have been the principal subject of European history for the last three centuries have been cases of coercion in the most severe form, although a large proportion of them have been described as struggles for liberty by those who were, in fact, the most vigorous wielders of power." Moreover, Mr. Stephen argues "that all organized religions, all moral systems, and all political institutions are so many forms of coercion, which, although limiting individual liberty, have yet done great good."

This is true; for inasmuch as all religious, moral, social, and political progress can achieve nothing without at the same time promoting the advancement of liberty, or its protection, these cases become legitimate means of coercion, and we rejoice in the liberation of the mind by the Reformation, in the interdiction of the suttee and of the sacrifices of human lives under the car of Juggernaut, and we glory in the standard of morality which permeates our laws and customs, and we respect the authority which protects our political liberty, as far as we have till now been able to secure it, although individual liberty may, in all these instances, have been powerfully interfered with.

The punishment and preventive treatment of vices and crimes becomes also a necessity; for one cannot imagine a single vice or crime that can be committed without being hurtful to the whole body of the community; and this must be the more so in a communistic state, when large masses of people are congregated in the Associated Home. Mr. Stephen says on this point:—"Men are so closely connected together, that it is quite impossible to say how far the influence of acts apparently of the most personal character may extend." It is surely a single matter of fact that every human creature is deeply interested not only in the conduct, but in the thoughts, feelings, and opinions of millions of persons who stand in no other assignable relation to him than that of being his fellow-creatures. The strong metaphor that we are all members one of another is little more than the expression of a fact. A man would no more be a man if he was alone in the world, than a hand would be a hand without the rest of the body."

SECTION III.

OF CIVIL OR SOCIAL LIBERTY AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS.

CIVIL or social liberty may be considered under the following subdivisions:—

1. Liberty of speech and freedom of the press.
2. Individual liberty.
3. Freedom of public opinion.
4. Freedom in the choice of occupations.
5. Political freedom.
6. Religious liberty.
7. Liberty of conscience.

CHAPTER VIII.—LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

THIS form of liberty has been claimed and advocated by all great legislators and social reformers. Robert Owen says:—"Everyone should be free as air to tell the world the undisguised impressions and reflections of his mind." Robespierre says:—"The right of manifesting thought and opinion either by the Press or by any other manner, the right of assembling peaceably, and the free exercise of modes of worship, cannot be forbidden." Cabet states that the people of Icaria discuss in public, and all that is said is reported in the public papers, which are distributed by the state to all the citizens. Stuart Mill claims freedom of opinion and freedom of expression on four grounds:—"1. If any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we know, be true. 2. The silenced opinion may be partially true, and this partial truth can be

brought out by discussion only. 3. A true opinion when established is not believed to be true unless it is vigorously and earnestly contested. 4. An established opinion comes to be held in a dead conventional way unless it is discussed."

That intellectual controversy and warfare carried on by discussion and writing is preferable to the results obtained by the application of physical force, is shown by Mr. Stephen in the following pointed manner :—" Civil war, legal persecution, the Inquisition, with all their train of horrors, form a less searching and effective conflict than that intellectual warfare from which no institution, no family, no individual man is free when discussion is free from legal punishment. The result of such a warfare is that the weaker opinion is rooted out to the last fibre, the place where it grew being seared as with a hot iron ; whereas the prison, the stake, and the sword only strike it down, and leave it to grow again in better circumstances."

The organization of the communistic state is eminently favourable to public discussion ; for each Associated Home will not only contain meeting rooms of various sizes for the free use of its inmates, but there will also be situated in the same buildings, or in their immediate neighbourhood, the legislative halls, each of them containing room for 500 to 600 persons, where the people will assemble daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly, as the circumstances require, in order to carry on the government of the country.

These legislative halls will all be connected one with the other by electric telegraphs, and the reports of speeches, propositions of laws, and results of votes will thus be transmitted without delay throughout the whole territory of the commonwealth. Considered in this light the expression of public opinion by means of popular legislative assemblies becomes of even greater importance than the liberty of the Press. Cabet tells us that "the liberty of the Press is of less value in Icaria than the right of speaking and proposing resolutions in the popular national assembly. The Icarians consider the speeches delivered in these assemblies as more expressive of public opinion than those conveyed by the public Press."

The communistic state cannot, however, dispense with the dissemination of opinion by newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets, for the simple reason that thoughtful writing will

always surpass the best oratory. Besides, there are a great number of things, such as criticism on arts and sciences, the account of accidents, and the great diversity of general news, etc., all of which are more properly spread by print than by speech.

Those who have no clear insight into the working of communistic institutions imagine, that to write and publish a newspaper antagonistic to the established opinion must be an utter impossibility in a communistic state, and this for the simple reason that the state will provide neither materials nor labour for undertakings of which it does not approve. These surmises will, however, fall to the ground, when the following safeguards for the freedom of the Press are considered :—

1. The communistic state, having proclaimed the inalienable right of man to the free expression of his opinion by any and all means, will publish a universal newspaper, into which every citizen will be allowed to insert his opinion in a concise and intelligible letter or article. These communications will fitly replace the space now occupied by hosts of advertisements, and the right of insertion, which every citizen of the communistic state can claim, will most favourably contrast with the refusal which letters now generally meet with when sent to the Press for publication.

2. Babeuf mentions the following arrangement as a safeguard :—

“ All writings are to be printed, and sent to all the libraries upon the demand of one of the assemblies of the people, or of a prescribed number of citizens.”

3. Advantage may be taken in combined and voluntary labour, as is done by those who wish to procure for themselves the use of certain articles of luxury, as explained in Bk. I., ch. x., p. 40.

CHAPTER IX.—INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

IN a communistic state, every person will be permitted to make free use of all his faculties. This exercise of individual liberty is, however, subject to restraint as soon as it infringes upon the rights of others.

Mr. Stephen might well have put the question to himself: Which is better for me, to be a political nought in an autocratic state, or a political fraction of a democratic power?

CHAPTER X.—FREEDOM OF PUBLIC OPINION.

THE importance of the action of public opinion, not only in political matters, but also in the domain of morality, is universally acknowledged. Mr. Stephen says:—“The influence of public opinion upon virtue and vice is incalculably great.” He thinks “that the free expression of public opinion is highly favourable to the maintenance of a high moral standard by the admiration and honour it pays to virtue, and by the condemnation it passes on vice; and that by this agency a standard morality, or what is called, in a school or regiment, a good moral tone, is created and maintained, which becomes the great condition of virtue. In explanation of this truth Mr. Stephen gives the following well-chosen illustration:—“When soldiers speak of an army which is thoroughly frightened as ‘demoralized,’ they use an expression which by its significance atones for its politeness.”

Mr. Mill intended to confine the expression of censure by public opinion to such cases in which the fault, vice, or misconduct of a person had done harm to others. This limitation is rightly opposed by Mr. Stephens, who says:—“If people neither formed nor expressed any opinions on their neighbours’ conduct except in so far as that conduct affected them personally, one of the principal motives to do well and one of the principal restraints from doing ill would be withdrawn from the world.”

In giving to public opinion free scope of expression, individual liberty becomes guaranteed to the great mass of the people, and it may safely be predicted that in the communistic state the expression of public opinion will act more powerfully and beneficially than is the case in the present state of social isolation, antagonism of interest, and class distinctions, which have given rise to the laconic saying, “Every one for himself, and God for us all.”

CHAPTER XI.—FREEDOM IN THE CHOICE OF OCCUPATIONS.

HOW this important branch of civil liberty is exercised in the communistic state has been shown in various chapters, and it will suffice to remind the reader that although physical labour is obligatory to all, there is yet a great range of choice possible in each class of dangerous, unhealthy, and repulsive work. In sciences, the fine arts, and in the liberal professions, the choice is, however, unlimited ; for they are not only thrown open to all, but the communistic state is bound to furnish to all those entering upon the pursuits of life the necessary training and means of instruction.

CHAPTER XII.—POLITICAL FREEDOM.

THE highest expression of political liberty is the exercise of sovereign rights by the people themselves without representation. But even this sublime ideal of political freedom has its drawback in the so-called tyranny of the majority, which is the more galling the larger the defeated minority is. In order to obviate this defect of the action of absolute political freedom, various democratic governments—amongst them that of the United States of America—have determined that certain important laws can only be passed by a two-thirds majority of the national representatives. This indicates the direction in which political progress has to advance. From a two-third majority, that of a three-fourth, four-fifth, etc., may finally be reached.

The communistic state will, moreover, be distinguished by great quietude in political strife and warfare, for its superior social organization having realized the utmost happiness to all, the political arena will become comparatively deserted.

CHAPTER XIII.—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THIS kind of liberty can be granted and guaranteed to any extent so long as it does not infringe upon other branches of liberty and upon the natural rights of man.

That communistic states protect free worship to all religions we see from Cabet's account of the Icarians, who says of them that "they respect all creeds, whatever their doctrines may be; and whenever there is a sufficient number of adherents to a particular belief, they build temples for them."

It has been suggested in a previous chapter that in all such cases it would be better to permit any new religionists to build their churches, chapels, or temples by their own voluntary labour.

CHAPTER XIV.—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

THAT the mind of man is, even in this enlightened age, cruelly enslaved, is lamented by all deep-thinking writers. Robert Owen says: "There is also a mental bondage to be thrown off." Stuart Mill says: "All of us are enslaved by custom."

Mental darkness will, however, become ultimately dispelled by the never-ceasing onward march of enlightenment, and illiberal customs will be abandoned as soon as a clear appreciation of true liberty becomes spread through society.

AN OBJECTION.

Mr. Stephen maintains that equality and fraternity exclude liberty, saying: "Assume that every man has a right to be on an equality with every other man because all are so closely connected together that the results of their labour should be thrown into a common stock, out of which they are all to be maintained, and you certainly give a very distinct sense of equality and fraternity, but you must absolutely exclude liberty. Experience has proved that this is not merely a theoretical but also a practical difficulty. It is the standing and insuperable obstacle to all socialistic schemes, and it explains their failure."

That equality and fraternity are antagonistic to liberty is a gratuitous theoretical assumption which becomes untenable when the many arrangements are considered by which the

communistic state favours, promotes, and protects liberty in all its multifarious ramifications.

The failures of communistic experiments hitherto tried, assert nothing in favour of Mr. Stephen's theory; for if there was failure in some cases, there was also signal success in others. Had Mr. Stephen had an opportunity of reading Mr. Nordhoff's interesting work on "The Communistic Societies of the United States" (a publication some years younger than Mr. Stephen's "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*"), he would have been compelled to retract his sweeping assertion that all socialistic schemes have failed.

Mr. Nordhoff gives the following survey of the various communistic systems now in existence:—

"The societies which may be properly used as illustrations of successful communism in this country are the Shakers, established in the Eastern States in 1794, and in the West about 1808; the Rappists, established in 1805; the Bäumelers, or Zoarites, established in 1817; the Ebenezers, or Amana Communists, established in 1844; the Bethel Commune, established in 1844; the Oneida Perfectionists, established in 1848; the Icarians, who date from 1849; and the Aurora Commune from 1852. Though in name there are thus but eight societies, these consists, in fact, of not less than seventy-two communes; the Shakers having fifty-eight of these, the Amana Society seven, and the Perfectionists two. The remaining societies consist of but a single commune for each. It will be seen that the oldest of these communes have existed for eighty-two years. Of all, only two societies remain under the guidance of their founders; though it may be said that the Amana Communes have still the advantage of the presence among them of some of the original leading members. The common assertion that a commune must break up on the death of its founder would thus appear to be erroneous. These seventy-two communes make but little noise in the world; they live quiet and peaceful lives, and do not like to admit strangers to their privacy. They numbered in 1874 about five thousand persons, including children, and were then scattered through thirteen States, in which they own over 150,000 acres of land—probably nearer 180,000, for the more prosperous frequently own farms at a distance, and the exact amount of their hold-

ings is not easily ascertained. As they have sometimes been accused of being land monopolists, it is curious to see that even at the highest amount I have given they would own only about thirty-six acres per head; which is, for this country, a comparatively small holding of land. It is probably a low estimate of the wealth of the seventy-two communes to place it at twelve millions of dollars. It is not an exaggeration to say that almost the whole of this wealth has been created by the patient industry and strict economy and honesty of its owners, without a positive or eager desire on their part to accumulate riches, and without painful toil. Moreover—and this is another important consideration—I am satisfied that during its accumulation the communists enjoyed a greater amount of comfort, and vastly greater security against want and demoralization, than were attained by their neighbours or the surrounding population, with better schools and opportunities of training for their children, and far less exposure for the women and the aged and infirm."

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freedom, for every exemption from physical labour gives more time for the artistic and scientific pursuits of man, and adds to the legitimate enjoyment derived therefrom.

As individual liberty consists in the free use of a person's faculties, it presupposes their development by education, instruction, and practice. Plato already says:—"Had it from the beginning been stated by you all that injustice is the greatest of all evils, and justice the greatest good, had you so persuaded us from our *youth*, we should not need to guard against injustice from our fellows." Louis Blanc advocates the development of the faculties used in the exercise of individual liberty, by liberal instruction and education, and claims the organization of labour for the already educated and grown-up persons, saying:—"Liberty consists not only in the rights accorded, but in the power given to men to exercise and develop their faculties under the empire of justice and the safeguard of the law. This is no vain distinction; for so soon as it is admitted that a man to be free requires the power to exercise and develop his faculties, it results that society owes to each of its members—firstly, instruction, without which the mind cannot expand; secondly, the means of labour, without which the activity of man cannot make itself a career." Stuart Mill mentions an important advantage accruing to society from the use of individual liberty, saying:—"The only unfailing and permanent source of improvement is liberty, since by it there are as many possible independent centres of improvement as there are individuals." In opposition to this, Mr. Stephen quotes from an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for August, 1872 ("Social Macadamization," by L. S.), the following propositions, and considers them to be unanswerable:—"The growth of liberty, in the sense of democracy, tends to diminish, not to increase, individual originality. Make all men equal so far as laws can make them equal; and what does that mean but that each unit is to be rendered hopelessly feeble in presence of an overwhelming majority?" In other words, give to every adult person the suffrage, and each elector will only possess an infinitesimal fraction of political power or individual liberty; restrict the franchise, and political power will increase for every privileged elector. By a graduated diminution of the number of electors, autocracy may finally be reached.

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SECTION V.

SUBDIVISIONS OF EQUALITY.

CHAPTER XVI.—NATURAL EQUALITY.

ROUSSEAU says:—“There is a natural equality which consists in the uniformity of wants and desires that are born with us. The want of food, of sleep, of repose, the enjoyment of health, the sexual desire, the feeling of sympathy and pity, the love of freedom,—these are what exist in pretty nearly the same degrees in the bosoms of all sound and well constituted beings.”

Sir Thomas More likewise disbelieves natural inequality arising from any special favouritism of nature, for he says:—“There is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favourite of nature, who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species: upon this, we infer that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly as to prejudice others.”

The communistic organization of society admits and favours the development of superior intellects and geniuses, but does not render them dependent on the reward by wealth or power, but expects them to arise from the love of art, science, and literature.

Natural equality takes its origin in the necessity that all men must satisfy certain wants in order to live; the unskilful man has as much need of stilling his hunger, of quenching his thirst, of protecting himself against cold and heat, of seeking repose in sleep, as the skilful one.

Babeuf speaks of an equality of the natural organs of men,

saying:—"Equality of goods is an inevitable consequence of that of our organs and wants."

When anatomists speak of an average size and function of the stomach, of the texture and action of the skin, of the size and substance of the brains, of the amount of air inhaled and exhaled by the lungs, they intend to convey the idea that this average is never much surpassed except in abnormal cases of atrophy and hypertrophy. This uniformity in the size, construction, and function of the various parts of the human body, forms the basis for the natural equality in the satisfaction of human wants.

CHAPTER XVII.—CONVENTIONAL OR SOCIAL EQUALITY.

THIS form of equality is superior to that of natural equality, to which it adds an important supplement, inasmuch as it moulds all imaginable natural inequalities into one compact bond of equality. It powerfully tends to abate the exorbitant claims put forward by the opponents of Communism in favour of superior intellects. Cabet says:—"Superiority of mind, intelligence, and genius are gifts of nature. It is unjust to neglect, or to punish in any manner, him who has received less of this gift. It is rather the duty of society, and the task of reason, to discover the means of levelling inequalities produced by the blind freak of nature. He who by his genius is more useful than others, ought to feel sufficiently compensated by the satisfaction which his well-acknowledged services give him."

Robert Owen, too, considers it unjust to reward a man merely because nature has endowed him with some peculiar gift.

Rousseau considers social conventions to have been necessitated by the endeavours of obviating natural inequalities, saying:—"As to the inequalities of physical strength, it is certain that it can be no bar to the enjoyment of natural equality; and there is the greatest probability that in order to obviate this evil recourse has been had to conventions, and civil society has been instituted."

Therefore social or conventional equality is superior to natural equality.

Siéyes says :—“ Though bodily and mentally unequal, men may by convention make laws for the establishment of an equal distribution of goods.”

Rousseau says :—“ Social equality is more perfect than natural equality ; for in society all men ought to be equal by convention, although they may be unequal in bodily strength and power of mind.”

The opponents of Communism deny social equality, but unhesitatingly proclaim in opposition to it civil equality before the law as it now exists in all civilized states.

Mr. Stephen says :—“ Laws and moral rules must, from the nature of the case, be indiscriminate, and must in that sense treat those who are subject to them as equals.”

Mr. Disraeli, in his address to the students of Glasgow University, said :—“ There can be civil, but not social equality.”

Civil equality is a rightful boast of democracy, when compared with the social inequalities and deprivation of civil right by which the subjects of autocratic states are oppressed ; but it loses greatly in its democratic value by comparison with Communism or Social Equality.

Plato's sneer is well applied to this sort of equality, when he says :—“ Democracy seems to be a pleasant sort of government, both anarchical and variegated, distributing a certain amount of equality (civil equality) to all alike, both to equals and unequals (rich and poor, master and servants, idlers and industrious).

CHAPTER XVIII.—EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

THE American Constitution is headed by the words, “ God has created all men equal in right.” This equality refers to all the civil, social, and political rights which an American citizen enjoys under the sanction of the laws of his country. The promulgation of the civil, social, and political rights, in a communistic state, will take place under the same principle of equality to all, but the rights themselves will be differently defined.

All rights take their origin in the natural rights of man ; and of these, says Cabet, there are only two, namely, (1) "his right to existence, and (2) his right to freely exercise all his physical and intellectual faculties."

"If men are equal in the freedom and exercise of their natural rights, they are also entitled to an equal share of justice. For instance, if a stout and powerful man should want twice as much food as others, he has a just claim, in virtue of his natural right to existence, to demand a double portion of food. But if there is not food enough for all, his claim must be lessened, for he would not be justified in exercising his natural right to the injury of others. In such a case, all will have to abate their demands for food."

The communistic state will also demand from all its citizens an equal performance of the duties incumbent upon each citizen ; for, as Cabet says, in a communistic state all people are associates. "In Icaria, all the people are associates, and equal in rights and duties ; they form but one family, whose members are all united by the ties of fraternity."

CHAPTER XIX.—EQUALITY IN THE CLAIMS TO HAPPINESS.

THE claim to happiness is a correlative to man's natural right of existence. Babeuf says :—"Nature has given to each individual an equal right to the enjoyment of all the goods of life." The equality of these claims is beautifully argued by Mr. Mill, who says : "The principle of utility, or the greatest happiness principle, is a mere form of words without rational signification, unless one person's happiness is counted for exactly as much as another's. Those conditions being supplied, Bentham's dictum, 'Everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one,' might be written under the principle of utility as an explanatory commentary."

Mr. Mill also states that equality of goods must be the inevitable consequence of the satisfaction of these claims, saying :—"The equal claim of everybody to happiness, in the estimation of the moralist and the legislator, involves an equal claim to all the means of happiness."

CHAPTER XX.—EQUALITY OF THE AGES.

COMMUNISTS view this form of equality under two aspects; first, in relation to the equality, which is common to all the four ages, and secondly, in relation to the equality to be established amongst the members of different ages.

All human beings, of whatever age, have the same claim to the satisfaction of their natural wants. Children, youths, young and old persons, all want food, shelter, sleep, recreation, and enjoyment. The satisfaction of these wants may vary within an unimportant fraction for the various ages, the same as for each separate individual, but, on the whole, the quantity of food consumed by children, young and old people, the cloth used by each class, the shelter required by all, will vary very little in quantity and quality. It is rather remarkable that children in robust health can eat quite as much as grown-up persons, and that they wear out in their careless way quite as much clothing as adults. There is therefore a natural equality common to all the ages, and the claims derived from it can be satisfied by an almost equal distribution of food, cloth, shelter, and other means of rendering the life of all healthy, comfortable, and joyous.

When Robert Owen says, "Nature has defined the only true inequality that can justly exist; it is the inequality proceeding from age," he seems to have overlooked the natural equality common to all the four ages. His statement, however, does not exclude the equality which may reign amongst the members of each age.

The realization of the equality of membership in each age is the great purpose of the communistic doctrine, and it is at once an answer to Mr. Stephen's statement that "the difference of ages is a distinct case of inequality." How all children and youths are maintained and educated on the principle of equality, how they are all equally and gradually accustomed and trained to the performance of the duties of life, how manhood is kept to activity by equally sharing all the dangers and hardships of physical labour, and how old age may enjoy repose, has been detailed in previous chapters. Nothing is more praiseworthy than the regard which Communism pays to

each of the four ages of men, by appointing to each duties commensurate with its physical and intellectual growth and decline. The communistic organization will in this respect show a marked contrast with the present state of society, in which youths and old men are often seen to break down under the burden of heavy physical labour, whilst robust manhood is but too frequently engaged in work and occupations which would be better fitted for children and old age.

Equality in the treatment of children is especially demanded on account of the utter helplessness of infancy, childhood, and youth to work out their own destiny; and as no one can know beforehand what special aptitudes and talents the children may possess, all educational appliances and systems of training must be worked on a plan of absolute equality. In a communistic state no more children will be born with silver spoons in their mouths. The same liberal education will be provided for all.

Of this education Cabet says:—"After the age of three years, and as soon as children can speak, they are associated for some hours every day to take a walk or to play. This is done for a double purpose; first, it is highly conducive to fortify health, and, secondly, it is greatly valued by communists as the first means of awaking in children the instinct of sociability, by which they will become attached to each other, and which, when they grow up, will develop itself into the strong feeling of fraternity and equality."

Babeuf expects the same benefits from education enjoyed in a communistic state, saying:—"The children being educated in common, and living constantly together, will soon learn to commingle their happiness with that of others, being removed from the contagion of self-interest and ambition."

Cabet lays the greatest stress upon the necessity of education, saying:—"Without education, community life is impossible, for it is chiefly education which prepares us both for the duties and enjoyments of life."

CHAPTER XXI.—EQUALITY OF THE SEXES.

"Man was the problem of the eighteenth century ; woman is the problem of the nineteenth century. No, I shall never cease to say it, the problem is laid down and it must be solved. She who bears half the burden ought to have half the right. Half of the human race is deprived of equality ; it must be given to them."—VICTOR HUGO.

ALL adversaries of Communism have greedily seized the fact of women's physical and intellectual difference from man as a striking instance of inequality. Mr. Stephen says :—"The physical differences between the two sexes affect every part of the human body. Men are stronger than women in every shape. They have greater muscular power and nervous force, greater intellectual force, greater vigour of character."

Mr. Mill administers, however, two pungent rebukes to psychologists of Mr. Stephen's stamp, saying :—"The profoundest knowledge of the laws of the formation of character is indispensable to entitle anyone to affirm even that there is any difference, much more what the difference is, between the two sexes considered as moral and rational beings ; and since no one, as yet, has that knowledge, no one is thus far entitled to any positive opinion on the subject." And again, "When women have had the preparation which all men now require to be eminently original, it will be time enough to begin judging by experience of their capacity for originality."

Adducing historical facts, Mr. Mill says :—"The Spartan women were more free than those of other Greek states, and being trained to bodily exercises in the same manner with men, gave ample proof that they were not naturally disqualified for them. There can be little doubt that Spartan experience suggested to Plato, among many others of his doctrines, that of the social and political equality of the two sexes."

"In literature (both prose and poetry) women have done quite as much as could be expected from the length of time and the number of competitors. If we go back to the earlier period, when very few women made the attempt, yet some of those few made it with distinguished success. The Greeks always accounted Sapho among their great poets ; and we may well suppose that Myrtis, said to have been the teacher of

Pindar, and Corinna, who five times bore away from him the prize of poetry, must at least have had sufficient merit to admit of being compared with that great name. Aspasia did not leave any philosophical writings, but it is an admitted fact that Socrates resorted to her for instruction, and avowed himself to have obtained it."

The following opinion which Mr. Mill holds of women's intellectual capabilities closely resembles that entertained by Plato:—"Women, compared with men, may be found, on the average, to do the same things, with some variety in the particular kind of excellence. But that they would do them fully as well on the whole if their education* and cultivation† were adapted to correcting instead of aggravating the infirmities incident to their temperament, I see not the smallest reason to doubt."

But even were women only half as strong, half as intelligent half as vigorous in character and moral force as men, it would as little establish inequality in a communistic state as the difference between weak and strong men affects the equal distribution for the equal satisfaction of their natural wants. If the weak man can only do half the amount of the work performed by the strong one, the communistic state will be satisfied with it, and the weak man having done his duty by exerting to the utmost the strength which nature has allotted to him, will be rewarded just the same as the strong one should he require an equal amount of the means of subsistence and enjoyment. The same, if women cannot do the same amount of physical labour as men, they will, nevertheless, be

* In the year 1875 two ladies were graduated with the law class in Iowa State University.

† "It is officially announced in Maine that any woman who has been ordained to preach for any organized religious denomination, on proof of such fact and proper recommendation by any persons personally known to the Governor, will be appointed to solemnize marriages in any part of the State. Any woman who has duties to discharge in a public or private office, or in any other position where the discharge of the duties imposed upon her makes it necessary or convenient that she should receive the authority, will be appointed to take acknowledgment of deeds and affidavits, as well as to solemnize marriages, for the county in which she resides, on furnishing the Governor with appropriate recommendations of citizens generally known to him."—*The Times*, May 17th, 1875.

permitted to share equally with men in all those things which maintain life and contribute to its happiness. This equal distribution is, moreover, in accordance with that kind of natural equality between men and women which relates to the satisfaction of hunger, thirst, shelter, repose ; for no one will venture to say that women require less food, less shelter, or less sleep than men.

The physical equality between the sexes and their equal natural wants greatly facilitate the distribution of produce in the communistic state.

In admitting both sexes to the study and training in arts and sciences,* the communists presuppose intellectual equality between them. Adopting this equality, they also make woman responsible in the performance of her share in all the social duties incumbent upon all the members of the community.

In attributing inferiority of intellect and character to woman, Mr. Stephen, the astute lawyer, fall into a dilemma ; for he must either acknowledge that women are intellectually and morally equal to men, and that both, as responsible beings, are amenable to the same rigour of the criminal law, which in cases of murder inflicts capital punishment on both ; or that it is barbarous to hang a woman for the same crime for which a man forfeits his life, inasmuch as her intellect and force of character is inferior to that of man, and her responsibility less than his. To say with Mr. Stephen that " laws must from their nature act indiscriminately and must treat those who are subject to them as equals," is but a very clumsy way of getting out of the difficulty.

* Susan Dimock, after studying the science of medicine for two years in America, completed her education at the University of Zürich, where she graduated in 1871. On her return to America she was appointed Resident Medical Officer to the Boston Hospital for Women and Children, and discharged its duties, as well as those of a daily increasing private practice, with great credit. As is common enough in America, she combined the practice of medicine with that of surgery, and within the last four years performed a considerable number of most important operations with great success. She was rapidly rising to the first rank in her profession, when she was prematurely lost in the shipwreck of the steamer *Schiller*, while on her way to Europe for six months' holiday.

In July, 1875, Miss Mary Edith Peчey was elected to the vacant post of House Surgeon to the Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women.

CHAPTER XXII.—EQUALITY BETWEEN CONJUGAL PARTNERS.

NO writer is a better authority on this subject than Mr. Mill, and the following passages extracted from his work on "The Subjection of Women," contain everything that can be said in favour of the equality between man and wife as conjugal partners.

"The principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other."

"The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and cultivation.

"What is needed is that married life should be a school of sympathy in equality, of living together in love, without power on one side or obedience on the other.

"Philosophy and religion, instead of keeping in check the subjugation of women, are generally suborned to defend it; and nothing controls it but that practical feeling of the equality of human beings, which is the theory of Christianity.

"We are told that St. Paul said, 'Wives, obey your husbands'; but he also said, 'Slaves, obey your masters.' It was not St. Paul's business, nor was it consistent with his object, the propagation of Christianity, to incite anyone to rebellion against existing laws.

"As discussion has not brought out the true character of the subjugation of women, it is not felt to jar with modern civilization, any more than domestic slavery among the Greeks jarred with their notion of themselves as a free people.

"The inequality of rights between men and women has no other source than the law of the strongest.

"The subjection of women arose simply from the fact

that from the very earliest twilight of human society, every woman was found in a state of bondage to some man."

Mr. Stephen meets Mr. Mill's views with two objections which, to a communist, seem extremely puerile. He thinks that "a woman who is no longer young, and who is the mother of children, would (under an equal relation between conjugal partners) be absolutely in the husband's power, and that in nine cases out of ten he would put an end to the marriage when it pleased him." Then who shall provide for the children, and how shall the woman find a living and a new home? Communism apprehends no difficulty in such instances, for all women and children getting their support from the state, are entirely independent of their parents and husbands.

Mr. Stephen further says:—"If the parties to a contract of marriage are treated as equals, it is impossible to avoid the inference that marriage, like other partnerships, may be dissolved at pleasure."

That under a communistic regime, which supports both children and wives, voluntary dissolution may take place without injury to either, will allay Mr. Stephen's apprehensions concerning the consequences of that dissolution at pleasure which he thinks is implied in Mr. Mill's advocacy of the rights of women, and which he fancies is defended in certain passages towards the end of Mr. Mill's treatise "On Liberty."

CHAPTER XXIII.—EQUALITY IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF BURDENS AND ENJOYMENTS.

BABEUF and his associates saw in the community of goods and of labour, that is to say, in the equal distribution of burdens and enjoyments, the only means of guaranteeing to each and every citizen the greatest possible happiness.

Equality in the distribution of burdens and enjoyments is carried out in three ways by the communistic state, and intends to realize:—

1. The community of goods by an equal distribution of all

the means of subsistence, including nurture, clothing, bedding, lodging, means of locomotion.

2. The community of burdens consisting in an equal distribution of labour, occupations, and professions.

3. The community of enjoyments by the common and equal participation of all the members of the community in the pleasures and enjoyments of life.

Common Meals.—The institution of common meals has an historical precedent, for we read in Herodotus that the Spartans ate their food in common, and that their kings even took their meals at the public table. He further states that the distribution of meat was always confided to the most distinguished persons of the commonwealth. It is not unlikely that from this laudable Spartan example of the distribution of food by distinguished persons, the English custom is derived of assigning the carving of meat and distribution of food at meals to the master and mistress of the house.

Common Dwellings.—How an equality in the lodgings and habitations of the people is obtained in the communistic state has been amply described in the chapter treating of the Associated Home. Although these dwellings are provided with every necessary accommodation and convenience, the communistic state does not tie its citizens to one and the same set of apartments, dwelling houses, localities, or towns, but permits frequent dislocation, which will, moreover, be often required by the change of employment, calling all people by turns to the various seats of industry scattered all over the communistic territory. In this manner will be provided for all persons change of air, of place, and association, in order to spread everywhere health, pleasure, novelty, and enjoyment.

That a similar custom of dislocation actually exists in Utopia we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"The inhabitants of the towns of Utopia shift their houses by lots at every ten years' end."

Equality in Dress.—On this kind of equality Babeuf makes some very judicious remarks, saying:—"Equality and simplicity in dress do not exclude elegance and propriety. There might be, for instance, different colours and forms to distinguish the different ages and occupations; and there is no reason why the citizen should not wear a different costume at the assemblies

and festivals from his ordinary one in the workshop. The girls, too, might be differently attired from the grownup women ; and it might prove useful as well as pleasing that the youth, the adult, the old man, the magistrate, and the warrior should have each a peculiar and appropriate costume."

Equal Distribution of Burdens.—For the equal distribution of the means of subsistence the communistic state expects, in return, equal application and assiduity at work from all its citizens. If all are maintained on a footing of equality, all must work equally hard. The burdens of labour must be equally borne by all. Physical labour is to be compulsory to all, and attractive occupations are to be distributed by alternate allotment.

The benefits derived from labour in common are thus described by Babeuf :—" Citizens should do in common whatever is to be done. Common labour fosters in the heart of each worker the desire of obtaining the general approbation by punctuality in the discharge of his duty."

Mr. Sargent objects to the equal distribution of labour on the ground that it must lead to an inquisition not to be borne. He imagines " that a tailor, for instance, sitting by the side of his shopmate would count the stitches of his brother shopmate, watch his wandering looks, and harass him with a superintendence worse than the worst evils of competition." To this objection the above words of Babeuf are an able reply, and the reader will also recollect that the principle laid down in ch. ii., pp. 261-2, renders this supervision legitimate, as it is the only means by which an individual can defend his personal freedom being infringed upon ; for as soon as he sees that another fellow worker is neglecting his duty, there arises in the mind of the industrious workman the apprehension that he is made a slave by being constrained to work in order to provide the means of subsistence for the idler. In the present state of competition, on the contrary, the industrious workman very often rejoices at the idleness of his shopmate ; for political economy teaches him that with the increase of the number of idlers amongst the members of his own trade, the demand of labour from the industrious workman, and the rise of their wages, increase in direct ratio.

CHAPTER XXIV.—TERRITORIAL EQUALITY.

THIS aspect of equality has been perceived both by Babeuf and Cabet. The former says :—“Where a people is equitably governed, the good and the evil ought to be equitably shared amongst all its members. A scarcity of things necessary for use, inundations, droughts, the ravages of war, conflagrations, these evils ought to make themselves be felt equally everywhere.” The latter says :—“The common distribution of all agricultural produce will compensate the population of poor lands with the superabundance of those of rich and luxuriant vegetation.”

CHAPTER XXV.—INTERNATIONAL AND UNIVERSAL EQUALITY.

THE philosophy of the eighteenth century proclaimed the equality and fraternity of nations in calling them to the conquest of liberty; the communistic doctrine of the nineteenth century calls all nations to a common distribution of the riches and produce of their respective countries.

Benefits of Equality.—Buonarotti says :—“Equality is the only institution proper for conciliating all real wants, for directing the useful passions, restraining the dangerous ones, and giving to society a free, happy, peaceful, and durable form.” Mr. Mill says :—“The only school of genuine moral sentiment is society between equals.”

SECTION VI.

FRATERNITY.

CHAPTER XXVI.—ORIGIN, ESSENCE, AND REALIZATION OF FRATERNITY.

“Universal reason, propagated by speech and heralded by the Press, demands the recasting of society on the basis of equality and fraternity.”—**LAMARTINE.**

“The influences which tend to unite men, and which give them an interest in each other’s welfare, are both more numerous and more powerful than those which throw them into collision.”—**STEPHEN.**

IT is evident that the idea of an universal brotherhood amongst all mankind originated from the teachings of the Divine Founder of Christianity, and that from the advent of the new creed the ancient system of class distinctions, of masters and slaves, of patricians and plebeians, of free nations and barbarians, of masters and servants, was shaken to its very foundations. Immense must have been the effect of the following words of Christ:—“But be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant” (Matt. xxiii. 8-12).

These words teach three important things: firstly, that all men are brethren, and have one common Father, which is God in heaven; secondly, that no man is to assume mastery over another, and to put his fellow creature into subjection; thirdly, that all service should be mutual. Mutual service, or an equal

distribution of labour amongst all the members of the community, is one of the principal features of Communism, and it is only in a true communistic establishment that those who are now the greatest in the land by virtue of birth, wealth, and authority will literally be made the servants of others, but also receive service in return in just proportion to the service rendered. In this spirit alone can all men become useful one to another. The tendency of Christianity towards mutual help and usefulness has been observed by all enlightened philosophers of subsequent ages. In our own times Stuart Mill made it the keystone of a new doctrine of ethics, saying :—"In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as one would be done by,* and to love one's neighbour as oneself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. As the means of making the nearest approach to this ideal, utility would enjoin, first, that laws and social arrangements should place the happiness of every individual as nearly as possible in harmony with the interest of the whole."

The opponents of both Utilitarianism and Communism strenuously repudiate biblical references in support of universal brotherhood. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, who is said to be the founder of a religion of inhumanity, discards reference to the literal text of the Bible. "By taking the philanthropic passages of the four Gospels as the guide of their lives, men would turn the world upside down. They would be a set of passionate communists, breaking down every approved maxim of conduct and every human institution." Instead of brotherly help, he would, on the contrary, establish the following rule of mutual assistance among men : "Let the miserable help themselves in the appointed manner ; let others help them on the appointed terms." Mr. Stephen, is however, not aware that the rule thus laid down is naked Communism, without being quickened by the solacing sentiment of fraternity. The communistic state has its strictly appointed terms ; which are, that it will provide food, clothing, and lodging for all who are willing to work, and that those who will not work will

* "These words ought to be engraved on every door of a court of justice, on the observe of every coin, at the head of every contract, and in the memory of every child."—EMIL DE GIBARDIN.

have to starve. Work is therefore the appointed manner by which the miserable can help themselves in the communistic state. But Communism counts upon something more than this hard and fast dictum—work or starvation. And this quickening essence of Communism, is fraternity, or universal brotherhood. Mr. Stephen, however, endeavours to prove the impossibility of a brotherly union amongst all men, and adduces the following argument in support of his assertion. “Though no men are absolutely good, or absolutely bad, yet if and in so far as men are good and bad, they are not brothers but enemies, or, if the expression is preferred, they are brothers at enmity.” However, Christ’s humane injunction, “Love your enemies,” and His association with sinners and publicans, are fatally detrimental to the new article of the religion of inhumanity, which proclaims that men are brothers at enmity. Yet Mr. Stephen is little pleased with the present aspect of antagonism in the conditions and pursuits of the lives of men, and says:—“Nearly the whole life of nearly every human creature is one continued course of injustice, for nearly every one passes his life in providing the means of happiness for himself and those who are closely connected with him, leaving others all but entirely out of account.” On the contrary, he wishes that “upon some terms, and to some extent, it is desirable that men should wish well to and should help each other.”

Here Communism will come to his assistance, as above indicated; and as the communistic state will establish absolute freedom of religious worship, he will be at liberty to add God and a future state to Mr. Mill’s doctrine of utilitarianism; by which conjunction “virtue will cease to be a mere fact, and become the law of society, the members of which may by a strong metaphor be called brothers, if, and in so far as, they obey that law.”

The sentiment of brotherly love, assistance, and sacrifice, is well defined by Sir Thomas More, who says:—“The Utopians think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantage as far as the laws allow it; they account it piety to prefer the public good to one’s private concerns; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for pleasure by snatching another man’s pleasure from him; and, on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul for a man to

dispense with his own advantage for the good of others ; and that by this means a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another."

Mr. Stephen, however, absolves himself, in the most unconcerned manner, of the acquirement and cultivation of universal brotherly love, saying :—" It would want the clearest of all imaginable revelations to make me try to love a considerable number of people whom it is unnecessary to mention, or affect to care about masses of men with whom I have nothing to do." If all men were similarly devoid of this feeling, the springs of philanthropy would soon cease to flow ; for it is preposterous to suppose that a Howard,* Wilberforce, or Reed,† never felt any sympathy or love for the unfortunate human beings whose lot they strove so persistently to better ; or that those sublime sacrifices by many men having made free gifts of important inventions to the world, were mere acts of bravado and thoughtlessness. And would not Mr. Stephen, seeing a fellow creature in danger of perishing by drowning or burning, run to his rescue, and, braving waves and flames, save the life of a brother, though not a kinsman of his ; or would he rather act like that Englishman of whom it is said that he refused to save a drowning man because the man had never been introduced to him ?

* John Howard, before setting out on his philanthropic tour into Russia, which ended in his death at Cherson, in November, 1789, justified his undertaking in these words :—" I am not insensible," he wrote, " of the dangers which must attend such a journey. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious, deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty, and to the sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life."

† Dr. Andrew Reed, the philanthropist, being told by one of his sons that he should like to write his life, replied :—" I sprang from the people ; I have lived for the people—the most for the most unhappy ; and the people, when they shall know it, will not allow me to die out of their loving remembrance." Dr. Reed accomplished sufficient to entitle him to the honour of all time, by instituting the following five charities—the London Orphan Asylum, where 3,500 orphans have been educated ; the Asylum at Wanstead, where 2,500 infant orphans have been trained ; the Asylum at Reedham, where a thousand fatherless children have found a home ; the Home for Incurables at Putney ; the Earlswood Asylum for Idiots, in which there are now 600 inmates.

That fraternity, or universal brotherhood, is something additional to the principle of equality, or the realization of justice, has been accurately perceived by J. S. Mill, who says:—"We are entering into an order of things in which justice will again be the primary virtue; grounded as before on equal, but now also on sympathetic association; having its root no longer in the instinct of equals for self-protection, but in a cultivated sympathy between them; and no one being now left out, but an equal measure being extended to all."

The development of sympathetic association and the cultivation of a highly refined sentiment of sociability, will be greatly favoured by the communistic institution of the Associated Home, by the participation of the people in common meals, and by the performance of labour by large bodies of men. Stuart Mill speaks with great confidence of the future growth of this sentiment, saying:—"The social feelings of mankind, or the desire to be in unity with our fellow creatures, is already a powerful principle in human nature, and happily one of those which tend to become stronger without express inculcation from the influences of advancing civilization." Of the bearing of education on the inculcation of brotherly love to our fellow creatures, Stuart Mill says:—"By the improvement of education, the feeling of unity with our fellow-creatures will become (what it cannot be doubted that Christ intended it to be) as deeply rooted in our character, and to our own consciousness as completely a part of our nature, as the horror of crime is in an ordinarily well brought up young person." He therefore expects that "a direct impulse to promote the general good may be in every individual one of the habitual motives of action, and the sentiments connected therewith may fill a large and prominent place in every human being." He further takes the following elevated views of the nature and growth of brotherly love and sociability:—"The social state is at once so natural, so necessary, and so habitual to man, that he never conceives himself otherwise than as a member of a social body; and this association is riveted more and more as mankind are further removed from the state of savage independence. A person in whom the social feeling is at all developed, cannot bring himself to think of the rest of his fellow creatures as struggling rivals with

him for the means of happiness, whom he must desire to see defeated in their object, in order that he may succeed in his. The deeply rooted conception which every individual even now has of himself as a social being, tends to make him feel it one of his natural wants that there should be harmony between his feelings and aims and those of his fellow-creatures. . . . Not only does all strengthening of social ties and all healthy growth of society give to each individual a stronger personal interest in practically consulting the welfare of others; it also leads him to identify his feelings more and more with their good, or at least with an even greater degree of practical consideration for it. He comes as though instinctively to be conscious of himself as a being who of course pays regard to others. The good of others becomes to him a thing naturally and necessarily to be attended to, like any of the physical conditions of our existence."

"If we now suppose this feeling of unity to be taught as a religion, and the whole force of education, of institutions, and of opinion directed, as it once was in the case of religion, to make every person grow up from infancy surrounded on all sides both by the profession and by the practice of it, I think that no one who can realize this conception will feel any misgiving about the sufficiency of the ultimate sanction for the happiness of morality."

It has already been partially admitted that brotherly love towards all men must show itself by an unconditional willingness and desire to serve, to assist, and to help others. Men must devote themselves to the service of humanity, present and future. That this service can consist in nothing else but the promotion of true happiness we already learn from Plato, who says:—"It is not the lawgiver's concern, how any one class in a state may be made especially *happy*, but to contrive rather that *happiness* shall be generated throughout the state, uniting the citizens both by persuasion and compulsion, making them share each other's services." Sir Thomas More says:—"To do a great deal of good to mankind is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living." What this good is, and how it is to be promoted, we learn from Mr. Mill in the following and subsequent passages:—"Happiness is the sole end of human action, for human nature is so

constituted as to desire nothing which is not either a part of happiness or a means of happiness."

The promotion of the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest possible number becomes, therefore, the only legitimate and reasonable aim of morality. This doctrine, which forms the basis of Mr. Mill's celebrated utilitarianism, has been called an epicurean theory by his opponents, and its advocates, as Mr. Stephen sarcastically puts it, might say at the last judgment:—"I pleased myself and hurt nobody else." These opponents have scarcely attentively read, or seriously studied, Mr. Mill's treatise on utilitarianism, for he distinctly describes the nature and extent of the happiness to be promoted, saying:—"There is no known epicurean theory of life which does not assign to the pleasures of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments, a much higher value as pleasures than to those of mere sensation."

"Utilitarian writers have placed the superiority of mental over bodily pleasure chiefly in the greater permanency, safety, uncostliness, etc., of the former."

"Human beings have faculties more elevated than the animal appetites, and when once made conscious of them, do not regard anything as happiness which does not include their gratification."

In order to illustrate still more fully Mr. Mill's conception of the true nature of happiness, we requote the following celebrated passage, partly given on page 311, in support of equality in the claims to happiness:—

"The utilitarian standard . . . is not the agent's own happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as one would be done by, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. The greatest happiness principle is a mere form of words, without rational signification, unless one person's happiness, supposed equal in degree, is counted for exactly as much as another's. Those conditions being supplied, Bentham's dictum, "Everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one," might be written under the principle of utility, as an explanatory

commentary. The equal claim of everybody to happiness involves an equal claim to all the means of happiness."

"I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be utility in the largest sense grounded on the permanent interests of a man as a progressive being."

"The only self-renunciation which utilitarians applaud is devotion to the happiness, or to some of the means of happiness, of others; either of mankind collectively, or of individuals within the limits required by the collective interest of mankind."—H. PAUL.

Of Monsieur Le Comte's system of the service to humanity, Stuart Mill says:—"Monsieur le Comte has superabundantly shown the possibility of giving to the service of humanity, even without the aid of belief in a Providence, both the physical power and the social efficacy of a religion; making it take hold of human life, and colour all thought, feeling, and action, in a manner of which the greatest ascendancy ever exercised by any religion may be but a type and foretaste."

What Le Comte calls *Altruism*, or to live for others, was already initiated by Saint Simon's doctrine which creates labour a religious duty. Stuart Mill's utilitarianism is a further, more comprehensive, and more philosophical elaboration of the same idea. He unquestionably deserves the gratitude of mankind for having indicated the practical way of carrying out Christ's commandment, "Love ye one another," and of realizing universal brotherhood upon earth, and introducing that state of society which forms the last of the three democratic mottoes: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

constituted as to desire nothing which is not either a part of happiness or a means of happiness."

The promotion of the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest possible number becomes, therefore, the only legitimate and reasonable aim of morality. This doctrine, which forms the basis of Mr. Mill's celebrated utilitarianism, has been called an epicurean theory by his opponents, and its advocates, as Mr. Stephen sarcastically puts it, might say at the last judgment:—"I pleased myself and hurt nobody else." These opponents have scarcely attentively read, or seriously studied, Mr. Mill's treatise on utilitarianism, for he distinctly describes the nature and extent of the happiness to be promoted, saying:—"There is no known epicurean theory of life which does not assign to the pleasures of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments, a much higher value as pleasures than to those of mere sensation."

"Utilitarian writers have placed the superiority of mental over bodily pleasure chiefly in the greater permanency, safety, uncostliness, etc., of the former."

"Human beings have faculties more elevated than the animal appetites, and when once made conscious of them, do not regard anything as happiness which does not include their gratification."

In order to illustrate still more fully Mr. Mill's conception of the true nature of happiness, we requote the following celebrated passage, partly given on page 311, in support of equality in the claims to happiness:—

"The utilitarian standard . . . is not the agent's own happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as one would be done by, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. The greatest happiness principle is a mere form of words, without rational signification, unless one person's happiness, supposed equal in degree, is counted for exactly as much as another's. Those conditions being supplied, Bentham's dictum, "Everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one," might be written under the principle of utility, as an explanatory

commentary. The equal claim of everybody to happiness involves an equal claim to all the means of happiness."

"I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be utility in the largest sense grounded on the permanent interests of a man as a progressive being."

"The only self-renunciation which utilitarians applaud is devotion to the happiness, or to some of the means of happiness, of others; either of mankind collectively, or of individuals within the limits required by the collective interest of mankind."—H. PAUL.

Of Monsieur Le Comte's system of the service to humanity, Stuart Mill says:—"Monsieur le Comte has superabundantly shown the possibility of giving to the service of humanity, even without the aid of belief in a Providence, both the physical power and the social efficacy of a religion; making it take hold of human life, and colour all thought, feeling, and action, in a manner of which the greatest ascendancy ever exercised by any religion may be but a type and foretaste."

What Le Comte calls *Altruism*, or to live for others, was already initiated by Saint Simon's doctrine which creates labour a. religious duty. Stuart Mill's utilitarianism is a further, more comprehensive, and more philosophical elaboration of the same idea. He unquestionably deserves the gratitude of mankind for having indicated the practical way of carrying out Christ's commandment, "Love ye one another," and of realizing universal brotherhood upon earth, and introducing that state of society which forms the last of the three democratic mottoes: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

SECTION VII.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY.

CHAPTER XXVII.—OF THE COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

“The realization of the doctrine of equality and fraternity necessitates the institution of common property.”—**BABEUF**.

THAT Communism in its sublimest conception may one day become a reality, Robert Owen tells us in these words:—“The time will surely come when the populations of the earth will be governed solely under the influence of universal love and charity; and Divine as these principles are, they are yet the principles of common sense for governing mankind.”

Montesquieu advises the community of goods for small states, saying:—“Those who wish to establish the community of goods must imitate the organization of Plato’s republican model city, in which trade and commerce are carried on by the state without the intervention of private citizens, in which arts flourish, but not luxury, and where our wants will be satisfied, but not our desires; where money is proscribed, with its corrupting influences. Republics after Plato’s model are fitted for small states where education can be given to all, and where the exchange of commodities can be rapidly effected without money. They are scarcely practicable in large states.” Montesquieu could not foresee the rapidity of the exchange of ideas and commodities which is now effected by telegraphs, steam navigation, and railroads.

Plato says of the members of his Model Republic:—“Let none possess any private property unless it be absolutely necessary; next, let none have any dwelling or storehouse

into which anyone may not enter. Let them also frequent public meals, as in camps, and live in common."

Mably considers a community of property to be the only social order conformable to the true end or intent of society, which is, the permanent happiness of all its members. According to him, all the evils which afflict human society, being the effects of avarice and ambition, the science of politics reduces itself to the art of effectually stifling these passions. Avarice cannot be smothered unless by a community of goods. The principle of community does away with individual property, and diminishing the attractions of power, it becomes a rampart against ambition, which ought also to be restrained by manners and institutions."

Sargent condemns individualism, but devises only puerile means of checking it, saying:—"Individualism often degenerates into egotism. This fault lies in our unsocial selfishness. We are too much bent on riches and pleasure, and thus elbow those who have their way to make. If a man having attained a competency would relax his exertions, and adopt a quiet, unostentatious mode of life, there then would be room for those who have not been so fortunate. There would then be no need to squeeze those below us, or to struggle with our equals."

In a report submitted to the committee of the Poor Laws, Mr. Owen gives us the first rough sketch of the Associated Home. The building he proposed should afford accommodation for 1,200 people. The most convenient form would be a square, divided into two parallelograms by the erection of public buildings in the centre. Lodging rooms would occupy three sides of the square; each family would be provided with four rooms, and its numbers would be restricted to four persons. When it consisted of more than two children, the others were to be sent to the dormitory, which would occupy the entire of the fourth side of the square. All the children from three years of age must sleep there, and must be sent to school. Their parents would be permitted to see them at meals and at all other proper times."

And again:—"In the co-operative farmhouse, proposed for the relief of the poor, they would enjoy every advantage that economy could suggest; the same roof would cover many dwellings; the same stove might warm every room; the food

would be cooked at the same time and at the same fire; and the meals would be eaten from the same table, in the society of friends and fellow workers. Sympathy now restricted to the family would be thus extended to a community ; the union would be still further cemented by an equal participation in the profits and an equal share in the toil."

Fourier proposes the adoption of a sort of Communism by getting rid of the great loss and waste which is now occasioned by the splitting up of society into fragmentary private homes.

Cabet says that in Icaria all the people are fed, clothed, and lodged by the state from the common stock of produce. Only slight differences in this equal distribution arise from the difference of age, sex, health, and other circumstances.

Sir Thomas More describes community life as practised by the Utopians, and mentions their arrangements for common meals, saying :—" In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. In these halls the Utopians all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market place at an appointed hour, and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions."

That uniformity of dress and attire is a necessary corollary of the community of goods, Cabet tells us in these words :— " In the communistic state all persons will be dressed alike. This uniformity of dress will, however, be agreeably diversified by the difference of costumes that will distinguish childhood, youth, manhood, old age, spinsters and bachelors, women and men, married and divorced, widows and widowers, artizans and professional men, public servants and functionaries, etc.

Sir Thomas More is of the same opinion, for he says :—" The Utopians wear throughout the island the same sort of clothes, without any other distinction except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters, and, as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate and calculated both for their summers and winters."

In the following passage Cabet mentions an important arrangement by which the use of national property and its safe keeping are secured :—" Every person and family will

have to keep a list, or inventory, of all the things rightfully assigned to them for use. Wilful destruction of anything, as, for instance, of articles of furniture, clothing, tools, books, scientific and artistic implements and instruments, is a punishable offence."

Of the common use of enjoyments, Cabet says:—"Enjoyments are distributed equally, the same as food. In most cases it is done by casting lots," especially where only a certain number can, at one time, participate in a certain pleasure, as, for instance, theatres, travels, etc."

In how far and to what extent Communism sanctions the enjoyment of pleasures, Cabet shows us in the use the Icarians make of it, saying:—"The Icarians like pleasure, for they consider it wisdom to use all their faculties which beneficent nature has implanted in them; but in order to enjoy rightly the treasures which she has spread around us and for us we must be guided by reason."

And again:—"Travelling in the home country, as well as in foreign parts, will be an enjoyment much favoured by the communistic state, and means being afforded and time granted to everyone to partake of this pleasure, at regulated intervals, the custom of travelling will become so general that those who take advantage of it will be counted by thousands."

Concerning the introduction of the community of goods and the realization of Communism, the most advanced social theorists have always shrunk back from an immediate application of a communistic organization of society at large. Even Cabet, the Ultra-Communist, tells us that Icaria underwent a transition period of fifty years before Communism was fully established.

The greatest and most violent Radicals of the Parisian clubs of 1848 clamoured for no more than a very partial application of nationalising property, as may be seen from the following speech delivered in one of those clubs:—"Society, in guaranteeing the rights of labour, has taken the *rôle* of a social Providence. It requires a civil list in harmony with its first wants. Let us take away from the parishes, from the intermediate

* The admission of strangers to the British Houses of Parliament is regulated by the casting of lots when all who have obtained members' orders for admission cannot be accommodated.

are set forth by Cabet in these words :—"The living in common constitutes a universal and mutual guarantee against misfortune and accidents, securing to each food, clothes, lodging, and the means to marry and to bring up a family, under the only condition of moderate work. The social system which will realize equality and fraternity will also prevent cupidity and ambition; it will render vice and crime scarcely possible; it will secure peace and concord, and will finally give happiness and contentment to regenerated mankind."

The economical advantages derived from living in common are pointed out by Fourier, who says :—"If association is applied to all the details of domestic and rural life, there will be found a medium saving of nine-tenths of the whole expenses, besides the hands which will be spared and become available in other employments."

Robert Owen sees in Communism the means of destroying selfishness, and says :—"The communistic life will effectually destroy the selfish privacy of families. The men of the New Moral World will live in public; their food will be eaten at public tables; separate houses will be replaced by huge dormitories. For individuals and families, private property will have no existence; each person will become a part of a colony; all will share alike in the common wealth—the fruit of their common labour."

Sir Thomas More considers Communism to be the means of eradicating pauperism and establishing true national wealth, saying :—"In all other places it is visible, that, while people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; * but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public: and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows that, unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to those of the public; but in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they all know that, if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is

* "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth."—Cor. x. 24.

poor, none in necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich."

Babeuf expects the consolidation of Communism by its own action and moral influence, saying:—"The greater the extent of territory a community embraces, the stronger is the guarantee it offers to each part of the territory against dearth and scarcity of every kind. Moreover, from such a great and frequent intercommunication of men and things, ought necessarily to spring up a strong feeling of fraternity and devotion, so general and so strong, that it is to be presumed no human force could either invade such a country or destroy its institution of equality, once they are firmly established."

PART III.

Of the Reorganisation of Society.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—LABOUR.

“The New Moral World will raise the standard on which is written in burning letters the words of St. Paul, “Unless ye work, neither shall ye eat.”—ROBERT OWEN.

LOOKING attentively at the inscription of the flag thus boldly unfurled by the great social reformer and philanthropist, we perceive that the words written on it in flaming letters have a double meaning, indicating both the necessity and duty of labour. Of the first, Karl Marx, the intrepid warrior against capital, and able advocate of the emancipation of the working classes of all countries, says:—“Useful labour, producing articles of value, is the inevitable condition of man’s existence, independent of all forms of society; it is the eternal necessity of nature, in order to carry on the continual exchange of matter between man and nature, and thus becomes the indispensable sustainer of human life itself.”

That the necessity of labour is at the same time a blessing to us, we learn from Babeuf, who says:—“Work is the common debt of all, and it is also the curb of the passions.”

The corresponding duty of labour, which goes hand in hand with the imperative obligation of work, is mentioned by all social reformers. Babeuf refers to it in these words:—“Nature has imposed on each person the obligation to work; nobody could without crime evade his share of the common labour.” The words, branding the withdrawal from labour as a crime,

give sanction to the punishment of idleness as a criminal offence, of which mention was made in chapter ii., p. 261.

Babeuf further says :—"The labour necessary to the maintenance of society, equally distributed amongst all its valid members, is for each of them a duty, the fulfilment of which is rendered imperative by the law."

And again :—"The right of property being replaced by that of each individual to an existence as happy as that of any other member of the social body, it follows that every member of the social body should take a share of the labour necessary to ensure the maintenance, the prosperity, and the conservation of society."

And also :—"No study or profession gives a right to exemption from the common labour of society." This provision is important; for it gives a decided denial to the detractors of Communism, who maintain that Communism would create an aristocracy of talent and learning who would be absolved from their participation in physical labour.

Sir Thomas More says :—"In Utopia no man may live idle, but everyone must follow his trade diligently; yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil from morning till night, as if they were beasts of burden, which, as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life amongst all mechanics except the Utopians."

Cabet refers to the necessity and duty of labour in the following passages, taken from *Voyage en Icarie* :—

"Labour and industry are one of the principal foundations of every social organization."

"Labour is to be elevated into the sphere of public functions, and its performance to be regarded as an obligation and honour."

"All the people of Icaria are associated and equal; all are obliged to work an equal number of hours in industrial occupations."

"In Icaria all people are equally rich, and the state exacts nothing else from them but an equal share of labour from each."

That every adult person in Icaria is skilled in some handicraft, and that manual labour is obligatory to all, may be inferred from the following dialogue in *Voyage en Icarie* :—

"'This is my travelling companion, of whom you have

already heard.' 'What is his name?' 'Valmor.' 'Valmor! I congratulate you, for I have heard him mentioned as one of the most distinguished and celebrated young men of Icaria.'

"'He told me that his father is one of the high magistrates of the country.' 'Yes, I know him; he is a locksmith.'

"'His sister is one of the great beauties of Icaria.' 'Yes; and besides, she is one of the best seamstresses.'

"'What do you say? A locksmith, a seamstress!' 'Well, what are you astonished at? Can a locksmith not be an excellent magistrate? Can a seamstress not be a remarkably beautiful woman?'

"'But are there no noblemen amongst you?' 'Yes; many citizens, artizans, physicians, and others, who have greatly distinguished themselves by discoveries and excellent service, are celebrated, illustrious, and noble amongst us.'"

Babeuf maintains that two reasons will impel all men to share in physical labour, and thus discharge their duty to society:—

1. Because the activity which moderate labour occasions, is for man a source of health,* delight, and amusement.

2. Because the labour of each is the least possible only when all participate in it.

That these two incitements may become the mighty means of organizing society on the principle of the equal participation of all in the performance of labour, is even admitted by Mr. Sargent, one of the ablest opponents to the communistic doctrine, who says:—"Health of body and of mind is regarded by all true philosophers as the conditions of felicity; but it is

* Nobody has ever given to the world a more striking example of the profound estimation in which the salutary influence of bodily labour is to be held, than Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the eminent statesman, profound scholar, and celebrated orator. During the recess of Parliament, this great man is not unfrequently engaged in the arduous but healthy exercise of felling trees. In September 1875, he was seen for a portion of two days wielding the axe upon a large tree in a lane at the outskirks of Hawarden village, and he succeeded in bringing it to the ground on the second day late in the afternoon. Those who saw him say that he went to work in true woodman fashion, with his braces thrown off behind him, and his shirt collar unfastened. After completing his task he walked home with his axe slung over his shoulder, and two hours afterwards attended a public meeting, looking, not tired and weary, but quite refreshed with his bodily labour.

obtained, not by ease, not by indulgence, but by active occupation. How much more would the middle classes enjoy life, how much freer would they be from dyspepsia and its black train of heavy thoughts, if necessity limited their meals ! How much more vigorous and lively their enjoyments, if daily labour prepared them for rest, and bodily exertion preceded their feasts !

And also :—" A sense of duty might be a prevailing motive, a sense of justice might occur to the backward minds, and might lead us to reflect that, as a matter of fairness, we should take our share of menial and offensive occupations."

Fourier tells us by what means men are now induced to work, saying :—" In civilized society, men are impelled to industry and perseverance by the sordid motives of gain, by the need of maintaining children, by the fear of dying of hunger, or of being locked up for begging."

Sir Thomas More mentions the important fact that living and working in common is a great preventive against dereliction in the duty of labour, saying :—" In Utopia all men live in full view, so that all are obliged both to perform their ordinary task, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours ; and it is certain that a people thus ordered must live in great abundance of all things, and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want or be obliged to beg."

Robert Owen's "Silent Monitor" seems after all to be destined, in spite of all the ridicule thrown on it, to become an admirable contrivance of bringing a man's performance of the duty of labour under the eyes of the public. This means of controlling labour is especially applicable in factories and localities where persons work singly and on one and the same spot.

In a well regulated social state every workshop, factory, mine, etc., will be constantly accessible to visitors from the public, and thus the marks of the silent monitors will impart to the public eye the manner in which those engaged in actual work perform their duties.

It is stated that at New Lanark the good marks of the silent monitors were often pointed out with no little pride by the workpeople, whose conduct they reported, to the numerous

visitors who came from all parts of the world to see R. Owen's marvellous achievements in the great work of human regeneration.

Every adult member of the future social state will, in a similar manner, be classified according to the indications of either a silent monitor, a book, or badge of conduct and merit in the performance of labour; for upon the faithful discharge of the work allotted to him will depend the regular commencement of the period, when at the age of fifty he will be exempted not only from all further compulsory labour, but will moreover be entitled to the superintendence and direction of the labour of others.

That none of the inhabitants of Icaria are ashamed or unwilling to take their allotted share in physical labour, we learn from the following dialogue in Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* :—

“‘ Yes, I understand, and see now how happy your workmen must be.’

“‘ They are so to such a degree that the descendants of our ancient nobility are proud of their present appellations, and are pleased to be called tailors, shoemakers, smiths, printers, etc., entirely forgetting their former ranks of dukes, earls, marquises, and barons.’”

How the burden of labour will be materially lightened in the future social state is indicated by several social reformers.

Babeuf says :—“ The right to a happy existence is, moreover, vouchsafed by exempting old age (from fifty years and upwards), and whenever infirmity or weakness of the organs render labour painful or impossible.”

Sir Thomas More says :—“ If, after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed in Utopia. When he has learned both he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.”

This observation of Sir Thomas More is of great importance, as being indicative of the freedom which every individual will enjoy in the choice of occupation and time of work,—a liberty the possibility of which has already been demonstrated in a former chapter.

Fourier elaborated a very detailed theory of arrangements by which labour can be made attractive to all. That his ideas

upon this subject contain great truths and most valuable practical suggestions, nobody will deny who only reads the observation with which he introduces the question, where he says:—"Labour is repugnant when it is forced, obligatory, and arbitrary; when it is continuous and monotonous; when it is isolated or without rivalry. The peasant who tills his field in solitude twelve hours a day, with no stimulant but the hope of a crust of bread; the seamstress who alone in her garret plies her needle all day and part of the night, with no stimulant but the necessity of living; the clerk who grows pale during the twelve hours, sitting at his desk, at a disgusting occupation, which leads neither to honour nor promotion, but only to a slender monthly salary: all these pariahs of civilization conceive a deeply seated dislike to their daily task."

And again—"The monotony of labour will be greatly mitigated when work is performed by small or large parties. Harvests and vintages in which the assembled labourers animate each other by joyous songs, and compete in promptitude and skill, are not painful but attractive. Young milliners sitting together and trying which shall be the first to finish her task, or which shall give most elegance to a bow of ribbon or a corsage, amusing each other with laugh, song, and nonsense, find their work less painful than it is to one who must labour in silence and solitude."

From these and similar observations Fourier elaborated a theory by which labour shall be made attractive by the voluntary formation of all workers into passionate groups and series. He then comes to the conclusion that those members employed in one occupation or workshop will form good-humoured parties, because they consist of free members who have volunteered for the particular service.

In order to prevent the monotony and irksomeness of occupations, Fourier proposes a change of occupation every two hours in the day; so that a man after ploughing for two hours would go to shoemaking for two hours, and after shoemaking to gardening for two hours.

The principle of the voluntary choice and frequent change of occupations is good, but Fourier's arrangements are not practicable, chiefly on account of the loss of time they would entail, and of the risk to which society would be frequently

exposed by having to postpone or abandon necessary work, because the required number of workers did not present themselves when they were wanted.

The system developed in chapter xl. p. 195-6, is easier and more practicable, and secures not only the entire freedom of the individual for the selection of work,—thus offering the greatest latitude to the working of Fourier's voluntaryism,—but gives also greater intervals between the various kinds of occupations in which a person may be engaged, and which, in some cases, may extend to hours, and in others to days, months, and even years.

It has also been remarked, on a former occasion, that when in a certain occupation the volunteers outnumber the workers required, the casting of the lot decides who is to remain and do the work ; and again, if on the contrary a sufficient number have not volunteered, the remainder still wanted will be compulsorily selected by the same means of casting the lot.

Cabet mentions three more motives which will impel men to the faithful discharge of labour, saying :—" All men will be called and encouraged to take part in labour, by custom, by the love of country, and by the approbation of public opinion." He further states that " in Icaria everything concurs in rendering labour attractive : education, which from childhood on teaches to like and to honour it ; clean and airy workshops, that invite to it; singing and conversation, that enliven it; moderate duration, that eases it ; and public approbation, that rewards it."

Of the mighty and charming attraction of science and art, Cabet saw striking proofs in Icaria, for he says :—" In that country all artists, as painters, sculptors, musicians, actors, etc., are fed, lodged, clothed by the state, and enjoy no other stimulant for their activity but the attainment of fame and distinction, and the guidance of their genius." And again :—" In order to excite honourable emulation, every one who does more than his duty, or makes a useful invention, or does some other distinguished service to the community, will receive public distinction or even national honours."

As other means by which the Icarians make labour agreeable, Cabet mentions the following :—" A citizen in Icaria has never to perform any more work than his strict allotment assigned to him by law, and consequently he does his work

willingly, without hesitation, repugnance, or aversion, knowing also that all others have exactly the same amount of work to do."

"All those employed in one and the same trade work together in large factories and national workshops, where intelligence has contrived the most suitable arrangements to afford room, ventilation, and airiness."

The example which industrious men may give to the lazy and backward is especially of great value in a communistic state of society, whilst such example is now generally unheeded, ridiculed, and even checked and interfered with by the jealousy of other workmen, who fear that the surplus earnings of one man is so much loss to the others.

Sir Thomas More distinctly asserts that "in Utopia, even the magistrates, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their example they may excite the industry of the rest of the people."

The present social custom which separates men into two classes, handworkers and headworkers, is ably argued against by Louis Blanc, who says:—"Why separate that which it has pleased God to render in human beings so absolutely inseparable? Does not the mysterious intimacy of soul and body result in the human being?"

After having had our way cleared by the removal of this obnoxious subdivision, thanks to Louis Blanc's argument, we have now arrived at the great question of the equal distribution of labour.

On this other subject Cabet says:—"Once a year, the state, knowing from statistical information the necessary number of workers required in all handicrafts and occupations, calls upon all persons, but especially upon the young when finally leaving school, to enlist into the great army of workers, and to choose their trades." This selection of occupation will be imperative, and from three kinds of work, namely, dangerous, repulsive, and easy or agreeable labour. Cabet speaks of three great festivals annually celebrated by the Icarians, and of which one is in honour of the distribution of employments, saying:—"There are three great festivals in Icaria : 1. The nativity of scholars, when all children at the age of five enter the national educational establishments; 2. The nativity of industry, when all citizens at the age of eighteen are incorporated as working

men into handicrafts and all manner of manual and physical work; 3. The nativity of citizenship, when at the age of twenty-five every citizen is admitted to his share in the political government of the people." To these three festivals will certainly be added two others, namely, one in honour of the admission of people to degrees in professions, arts, and sciences, and another for the celebration of the final termination of every individual's period of labour, which being fixed at fifty years of age, will from that time entitle him to the leadership of other workers.

Cabet himself mentions the important and humane custom observed in Icaria of exempting old people from work, saying:—"In Icaria men are exempted from work at the age of sixty-five and women at fifty; but few only invoke this exemption, but continue by habitude to be useful in some way or other."

One is here involuntarily reminded of the sad spectacle of hardships to which the great age of many of those is cruelly exposed, who in our towns drive omnibuses, and of those who in our fields totter behind the plough, living skeletons* and emaciated, deathlike frames, that at every step they make threaten to fall to the ground. O cruel Civilization! when will thy reign of tyranny and inhumanity come to an end?

How infinitely more humane are the communistic institutions of Icaria to those of England at the present time!

Babeuf says that painful and repulsive labour will be greatly mitigated: 1. By the application of machines wherever they are applicable; 2. By every able-bodied citizen taking his turn at work. This second mitigation of labour is, certainly, the only infallible means of distributing some of those occupations which are in themselves so disgusting and distasteful that no social reformer could for a moment think of relying on these being chosen spontaneously and willingly by anyone. "We cannot," says Mr. Sargent, "expect that many would wish to act as scavengers, to load dung carts, to clear out pigsties, to scrub a dirty room, to wash foul linen, or sort dirty rags."

That the process of the equal distribution of labour must

* The reader may see "The Skeleton at the Plough" described by George Mitchell, one from the plough, who shows how working men starve in happy England.

already begin at the very childhood of an individual is distinctly advocated by Babeuf and Robert Owen. Babeuf says:—"This distribution takes birth in the houses of public instruction. The magistrates charged with their superintendence cause to be executed therein all branches of work, and attach to each of them the number of pupils proportioned to the wants of the public, at the same time consulting the capacity and peculiar bent or turn of each pupil."

Robert Owen says:—"In the New Moral World all will, in the course of their lives, be called upon to perform every function, from the humblest domestic duties to the most difficult operations of government. At seven each child will begin to assist in domestic matters, and in such out-door pursuits as may be suited to its strength and advantageous to its health. At twelve they will cease to be occupied in domestic duties, and will enter upon the more important labour of life. From twelve to twenty-five every one will be engaged in the production of wealth."

That the equal distribution of labour will be no arbitrary proceeding is pointed out by Babeuf in the following two passages:—"Equality in the distribution of labour ought to be measured and determined less by the intensity of the labour required than by the capacity of the labourer." "The duration and severity of labour will be regulated by the law, which, while it spares the weak, will excite the strong, so that all may find themselves subject to duties equally proportioned to their strength and to the rudeness of the labour they may have to perform."

The author proposes that at the age of forty every member of the communistic state shall cease to be a producer, and become from this period to his fiftieth year a distributer of produce. Robert Owen coincides with this arrangement, but he evidently fixes the period of the emersion from productive labour at too early an age. His words are:—"At twenty-five the citizen of the New Moral World will emerge from the business of life to enjoy its pleasures. Till thirty he will act as guardian of the wealth that has been created. From thirty to forty he will be a member of the council of government. From forty to sixty he will be employed on such foreign affairs as may arise."

Fourier conceived the idea that the more varied labour is,

and the more occupations and handicrafts an individual is working in, the greater is the attractiveness of labour.

That the obstacles of learning a number of occupations are not very great, even in those trades where little or no machinery is as yet employed, is clearly proved by a fact that came to light at Robert Owen's celebrated communistic experiment in America; for we find it stated that "at New Harmony persons who, till then, had been useless members of society were known to acquire the art of carpentering with great facility. Dale Owen states that he himself had made a pair of boots in a week, and two of his brothers had achieved a similar feat. A gentleman expressed the thrill of satisfaction he had experienced when he had learned the noble art of tailoring, and when he found himself for the first time of his life enrolled among the useful classes of society.

In "Das Capital," by Karl Marx, we read:—"A French artizan writes the following on his return from California:—'I never thought that I would be able to work in all the various trades which I took up in California. I was firmly convinced that besides book-printing I was good for nothing. But once in the midst of this world of adventurers, who change their trades easier than their shirts, lo ! I did as others did. As working in the mines was not profitable enough, I settled in the town of San Francisco, where I became in turns slater, plumber, typographer, etc. In consequence of this experience I feel myself less a mollusk, but more a man."

Robert Owen himself, however, doubts the feasibility of everyone taking a share in every kind of work, and says:—"It appears hardly possible that all can be occupied successively or simultaneously upon every division of labour; but care will be taken that the occupations shall be sufficiently diversified to secure perfect health and sufficient repose to all."

The plan suggested by Babeuf, according to which every person has to take his share in dangerous, repulsive, and agreeable work, is all that is required in order to ensure both the variation of labour and the realization of the principle of equality.

Babeuf speaks of the benefits which society will derive from the equal division of labour, saying:—"From the impar-

tial division of labour, and from the reduction of occupations to those which are necessary to all, flow two consequences infinitely favourable to the happiness of our species: 1. The useful employment of all the land; 2. The removal of idleness, and thereby a great mitigation of individual labour."

Saint Simon's dictum, "To every one according to his own capacity, and to every capacity according to its worth," will certainly find an important practical application in the allotment of all scientific, intellectual, and artistic work, and in the distribution of all scientific and artistic appliances, instruments, books, etc. That ability and proficiency must, then as now, be proved by test examinations, is evident, and that all men of science and artists will be ranked into various degrees of proficiency, and that these degrees will entitle them to the possession and use of the requisite appliances for their respective arts and professions, is likewise understood.

Saint Simon says, "Every one being set to do that for which he is best fitted, all the duties of society will be performed better than they are at present. This principle necessitates that the distribution of employments be made according to the abilities of men."

How very much superior would this system of distributing arts and sciences be to the existing one, which wastes so much labour in teaching young persons sciences and arts for which they have very often neither talents nor inclination, but dislike and hatred.

The direction of all labour and the management of all industrial affairs by the state are an unavoidable necessity in carrying out and maintaining a communistic organization of society. We therefore meet in the works of all social innovators with numerous allusions to this subject.

Louis Blanc says:—"The government shall be regarded as the supreme regulator of production, and that it may accomplish its task it shall be invested with great power."

That the power of a communistic state resides in the sovereignty of the people, and that the people themselves are to exercise the administrative power, is very ably indicated by Babeuf in this passage:—"Liberty and equality cannot be maintained in society unless all the citizens participate in the construction, the maintenance, defence, and execution of the

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laws. As administrative labour will be the most attractive, citizens will take part in it by turns." (The English custom of electing the mayors of large cities by turns from among the aldermen is realizing the principle of equality to some extent.)

That the principal work of the communistic administration will be concentrated on the direction of labour and industry, is a point on which all social reformers agree. Cabet says:—"The state determines every year the number and quantity of all articles of consumption, of food, clothing, furniture, tools, scientific and artistic appliances, raw materials, etc., and it is the state which has everything produced and manufactured in national establishments and workshops of which those of a similar kind or mutual dependence are united in one locality."

"The entire administration of the Government in Icaria is divided into fifteen central committees, superintending : 1. The Constitution; 2. Education; 3. Agriculture; 4. Industry; 5. Food; 6. Clothing; 7. Furniture; 8. Dwelling; 9. Statistics; 10. Conveyance; 11. Arts; 12. Sciences; 13. Navigation; 14. Foreign Trade; 15. Hygienics." To these must be added : 16. Telegraph; 17. Railways; 18. The Public Press; 19. Postal Affairs, and 20. Entertainments, such as concerts, plays, balls, travelling, etc.

That each department of the public administration will have to be subdivided into numerous sections is perceived by Louis Blanc, who says:—"There must be a central corporation to each trade, with other minor corporations affiliated to it throughout the country."

Babeuf speaks of a similar subdivision of industry and its supervision, saying :—"In each commune the citizens are distributed by classes. There are as many classes as there are useful arts. There are, amongst each class, leaders, or superintendents, who direct the works."

And again :—"There is with each municipal administration a council of old men, who (having reached their fiftieth year, which terminates their period of physical labour) are delegated by each class of workers; this council enlightens the administration upon everything which concerns the distribution, mitigation, and improvement of labour."

And also :—"The direction of agriculture and of the useful

arts (trades) is one of the principal prerogatives of the sovereign power of the people."

Cabet mentions an important branch in the subdivision of the sanitary department of the state, saying:—"There will be a separate section of the sanitary department of the national Administration, whose special duty will consist in regulating all matters concerning the health of new-born children, babies, and infants of tender age. This section will give instructions and directions as to the manner how to treat children during the time of suckling, weaning, and teething, and as to all matters relating to their feeding, washing, bathing, etc."

The work required in all the various branches of the administration has already been analysed in chapter xxxviii., p. 188, under the term of Administrative Labour, and where it was also declared to be capable of being shared by all. But as all the branches of administrative labour confer great honour and distinction on all those engaged in its superior direction, the offers of voluntary and efficient service are most likely to be in excess of the places to be filled. This difficulty is ably solved by Babeuf, who says:—"To these, citizens should be invited to take part in turn, viz., such as appertain to the administration and defence of the Republic."

That in a communistic state the minutest details of the direction of labour and distribution of produce are subject to popular control, we learn from Cabet, who, in *Voyage en Icarie*, mentions an incident which occurred in the national assembly of that state, showing the kind of work the representatives were engaged in. "A reporter is said to have laid before the House the draft of a bill, authorizing the Administration to add a new article of furniture to those already in use in every habitation."

It is not unlikely that in a communistic state, where every department of the administration, and especially that of industry, is minutely subdivided, the section of invention and improvement attached to each trade, manufacture, art, and science, may very closely resemble Solomon's house, the inmates of which are described by Lord Bacon as being occupied:—

- " 1. In searching for experiments in books.
- " 2. In collecting experiments in all mechanical arts.

- "3. In trying new experiments.
- "4. In reporting on these experiments.
- "5. In suggesting the application of the results of these experiments to the benefit of man and knowledge.
- "6. In directing new experiments from old ones.
- "7. In executing the experiments.
- "8. In drawing axioms and aphorisms from successful experiments."

The principles which guide the direction of labour by the state relate chiefly to the continual mitigation of the hardship of labour, and to the saving of work and material. How this is to be effected is shown in the following passages from Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* :—"The Icarians exercise all their intelligence in order to discover all possible means of making labour short, agreeable, and safe."

"The amount of all necessary work and the hours of labour are gradually more and more reduced, and new machines are employed to lessen the number of people engaged in manual work."

It must here be remarked that the progress of sciences and arts will often produce objects for enjoyment or instruction, which will require for their production and distribution manual labour, as, for instance, the copying by print of a fine drawing or piece of music.

Cabet continues thus :—"The whole intelligence of a people well educated and instructed is continually searching for the means of improving the mode of work and manufacture. In every manufacture, as, for instance, in that of garments, such forms and shapes of the article to be produced will be chosen that will render the process of fabrication easiest. By this arrangement the number of tailors employed in the making of garments will be greatly diminished, and can be utilized in other handicrafts for the same purpose of reducing the hours of labour likewise there."

By what means the Utopians contrive to facilitate work, and to shorten the time of it, we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"And thus, since the Utopians are all employed in some useful labour, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them ; so that it frequently happens that for want of

other work vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways; but when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened."

"Among the Utopians, all things are so regulated that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground, and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay; so that their buildings are preserved very long with but little labour; and thus the builders, to whom that care belongs, are often without employment." This last passage is in strict harmony with what has been said in chapter xxxiv., p. 157-8.

Of the concentration of workshops, Cabet mentions two instances, carried out successfully by the Icarians:—"The stables for the horses used in the conveyance service are situated in one quarter of the town, and are surrounded with the magazines for provender and the sheds for the waggons. In the immediate vicinity are also situated the workshops of the wheelwrights and saddlers, the smithies of the farriers and the premises of the veterinary surgeons. By this new system of concentration, no more stables and dunghills, nor hay, nor straw, are to be seen at the side of dwelling houses and homes."

"In Icaria, the printing establishments are in close proximity to the works for the manufacture of paper, ink, and type; and the workshops for bookbinding are also near at hand. The economy effected by this concentration of trades, added to the saving of labour derived from the application of machinery, is immense."

Of the employment of machinery Cabet further says:—"Thus machines have been multiplied in Icaria to an unlimited extent, and have now reached a power equal to the work of a thousand million men."

"In order that every kind of work be executed in the least time, the component parts of many an object, as for instance of a cap, a shoe, or coat, are cut out in large quantities by machines."

In stating the admirable and extensive use of machines in regenerated Icaria, Cabet cannot help recalling to his memory the sad aspect of the effects of their first introduction, saying:—"Those whose hand-labour had been supplanted and

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In stating the admirable and extensive use of machines in regenerated Icaria, Cabet cannot help recalling to his memory the sad aspect of the effects of their first introduction, saying :—" Those whose hand-labour had been supplanted and

their means of subsistence destroyed by these inventions, resorted, not unfrequently, to the smashing of machinery ; the protection of which could only be enforced by so-called legal massacres and wholesale executions. (In Newcastle fourteen persons were executed in one single day for this offence.)

That the great reduction in the hours of labour practicable in a communistic state is highly favourable to the development of science and art, is fully taken cognizance of by nearly all social reformers. Sir Thomas More says :—“ In Utopia, the magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labour, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labour by the necessities of the public, and to allow the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.”

“ In Utopia, both men and women are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading ; and this they do through the whole progress of life.”

“ The Utopians are unwearied pursuers of knowledge.”

“ They do not abuse the relaxation from labour in luxury and idleness, but employ it in some proper exercise, according to their various inclinations, which is, for the most part, *reading*. ”

Cabet says :—The communistic system is eminently adapted to the development of the fine arts, and to every reasonable enjoyment derived therefrom.”

“ A great number of citizens will have finished their scientific education with their seventeenth or eighteenth year ; they will afterwards have at their disposal a whole lifetime for the further study and diligent pursuit of the particular sciences and arts they have chosen for themselves ; and the great number of these devotees to science must, infallibly, lead to a great advancement of human knowledge and improvement.”

“ There is not a single working man in Icaria who is not able to write down, grammatically, correct notes and suggestions, and many of our artizans are able to produce literary works of great value, which, when adopted as useful, are printed by the state.”

Babeuf says :—“ After having accomplished his task in physical labour, there remains in the life of a man a long interval of time, the occupancy of which ought not to be abandoned to

voluptuousness and idleness. It is upon the wise and free employment of this time that the happiness of the citizens depends, and, consequently, the liberty, prosperity, and duration of society. In fortifying the mind, vigour is given to the body."

Cabet also suggests that degrees in professions should be distributed after a test by examination. This must certainly be done either by a committee of examiners, and before the public, or by public competition in which the people themselves are the examiners, and confer degrees upon aspiring candidates.

Cabet speaks of another great advantage gained by the reduction of the hours of labour, saying:—"The leisure time gained by the reduction of the duration of labour will give opportunity to frequently assemble the people for the exercise of their political power in being present at the popular sectional parliaments, which may be opened in the afternoon at four o'clock."

That the practice of charitable labour will become a remarkable feature and praiseworthy reality of the communistic state has been shown in chapter xxxvii.; it is not only fully borne out by the opinions entertained on the same subject by all social theorists, but may also be inferred from an important historical fact which tells us that the Lollards * in Holland (1300) were a religious sect who lived in common, and who devoted themselves to the care of the poor, whom they nursed in cases of sickness, and buried in cases of death.

Of the charitable work performed by the Icarians, Cabet states that "in Icaria it is always the mother who gives suck to the baby. But in rare cases, where the mother cannot fulfil this duty and enjoy this happiness, there is never any want of a wet nurse amongst her many female friends, neighbours, and fellow workers, who, from motives of friendship and charity, will become a second mother to the child." These instances of charitable labour are greatly favoured by the association of people in the united homes.

* As a memorial of the cruel persecution of this sect there is still shown to all visitors of Lambeth Palace the celebrated Lollards' Tower, with the prisons where those unfortunate victims of priestly tyranny dragged out weary days, leaving traces of their misery for ages after in the shape of prayers carved on the wall.

CHAPTER XXIX.—AGRICULTURE.

THE principles regulating the agricultural arrangements of the future have been stated to be :—

1. That the enjoyment of country life combined with agricultural labour shall, in turn, be made accessible to all.
2. That cultivation on a large scale, and on large fields, shall be undertaken by the state.
3. That cultivation on a small scale, consisting chiefly of spade husbandry and gardening, shall take place at the side of national farming.
4. That all grown-up children shall contribute a share to agricultural labour.
5. That with each farm homestead be combined industrial, artistic, and scientific appliances.

We are informed by Sir Thomas More that all the inhabitants of Utopia take part in agricultural labour in alternate shifts and relays, and are thus frequently placed under the joyful and healthy influence of country life. He says :—"The Utopians have built all over the country, farm-houses for husbandmen, which are well contrived and furnished with all things necessary for country labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them.

"Every year twenty of an agricultural family of forty come back to the town after they have stayed two years in the country ; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from town."

Of the result of this general participation in agricultural labour, Sir Thomas More, says :—

"Agriculture is that which is so universally known among the Utopians, that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it."

Cabet mentions a similar result to have been attained in Icaria, saying :—"Every adult Icarian can when needed be called to all kinds of agricultural labour; for the work of the husbandman having been considered as a most indispensable element in the sustenance of the people, every Icarian has

been taught and practised in it from his early youth to the time of adolescence."

Rendering the enjoyment of country life accessible to all, is, however, only partially realized in Icaria, for Cabet says:— "At the age of eighteen, the sons and daughters of farmers who choose a profession or handicraft are sent to town, and those of the town people who choose agriculture for their occupation are sent into the country; but, generally, the children of agriculturists prefer remaining in the country."

Babeuf thinks that the sight of beautiful country scenery will strengthen the love for one's own native land. He therefore advises a general sharing, and also by turns, of all agricultural labour, including conveyance not only of agricultural produce, but also for other purposes, in order that every man shall have frequent opportunity to traverse his own native country, see its beautiful landscapes, lakes, rivers, mountains and antiquities. "Migratory agricultural labour will also be a happy occasion for strengthening the love of country, by bringing home to every individual the knowledge of its beauty; thus every citizen capable of work should be called in turn to this function, as also to that of couriers, bearers of dispatches, messages, etc., etc."

That in Utopia farming operations are sometimes performed on a large scale, and by a large number of people, and that by this means the speediest termination of work is obtained, we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"When the time of harvest comes in Utopia, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent, they commonly dispatch it all in one day."

Cabet likewise states that the Icarians perform labour in united numbers, with the same result as to expedition, saying:—"In Icaria the country people often work in large gangs for a common purpose, as, for instance, in the construction of roads, when a large number of persons, directed by a superintendent, make a long extent of road in a few days."

The advantages of common and national cultivation, which evidently admits the application of machinery to the utmost extent, are admirably described by Cabet, who says:—

"By national or common cultivation the fields can be laid out in large squares and sizes, which will especially facilitate the operation of the steam-plough and other mechanical appliances."

"The national cultivation of the land will also allow of all space now occupied by enclosures, walls, and barren hedges, being economized and made fruitful."

"In Icaria every agricultural district has its congenial mode of cultivation. Different soils require different branches of agriculture; thus the culture of the vine, of grass, of grain, of fruit is everywhere undertaken in such places and districts as are best suited for them."

Thus in some places vineyards will abound, in others orchards. One district will be chiefly covered with woodlands, whilst another is laid out as grassland, and again another exclusively for growing cereals.

"Human labour being to a great extent supplanted by machinery, the occupation of husbandry in Icaria is reduced to a simple intelligent direction and enlightened arrangement of what is to be done, and when it is to be done. The proportion to which mere drudgery work, such as ploughing, sawing, reaping, mowing, etc., has been reduced by the use of labour-saving machinery and implements may be guessed from the fact that now the labour of only one man is required where formerly fifteen were wanted."

Louis Blanc likewise gives his assent to common and national cultivation, saying:—"Farming on a large scale must hereafter absorb the minute cultivation now prevailing in nearly all European countries."

Robert Owen projected the cultivation of the land by people living in agricultural villages, containing from 800 to 1,200 inhabitants of 200 to 300 families, dwelling in separate apartments, but under one roof; eating in common, their children being educated in common, and each one working for the common benefit."

In proposing these villages, Owen intended them to be self-supporting, and they, therefore, contain a large number of inhabitants. That isolated communities can have no existence in a communistic state, has been shown in a preceding chapter; but R. Owen is quite right in proposing the living in common

of all persons occupying a national farm establishment, only their number need not go beyond thirty or forty persons.

Robert Owen deserves, however, great praise for his persistent advocacy of spade husbandry, of which he says:—"A system of spade husbandry is far more profitable than that usually adopted, and it possesses the advantage of employing a large amount of human labour."

When Robert Owen proposed this mode of husbandry it was thought absurd by his opponents to substitute human labour for that of a horse, and the simple spade for the ingenious plough; and they called it an anachronism and a rebellion against the law of progress. It is strange that these objectors should not have been aware of the fact that nearly the whole of the inhabitants of Belgium live exclusively by spade husbandry.

Of the complement of the separate farm homesteads Cabet says:—"Every farm in Icaria has its dairy, fowl and pigeon house, flower and kitchen garden, orchard, bee hives, etc."

The great attention paid by the Utopians to the poultry of their farmyards, is alluded to by Sir Thomas More, who says:—"The Utopians breed an infinite number of chickens."

The mentioning of this passage from the *Utopia* might easily be regarded as one of the vagaries of the socialist schools, could they not point to the trade returns, which prove that England by not following the practice of the Utopians has to spend annually £1,102,000 in the importation of eggs from other countries.

Two statements of Cabet's deserve attention on the part of earnest social theorists. The first of them relates to the dress most suitable to an agricultural population, and the second gives some indication as to the combination of scientific pursuits with agriculture.

1. "The dress of the agricultural population of Icaria is not only picturesque, but also adapted to a change according to the various seasons—warm in winter, cool in summer, and impermeable to rain."

2. "The agriculturalists in Icaria make frequent astronomical observations from elevated places, or from observatories especially constructed for their use."

Concerning the conveyance of farm produce, Cabet says:—

"The farmers in Icaria have horses, waggons, and gigs, which they use on their farms, and also for carrying the farm produce to the nearest provincial storehouse. Other means of public conveyance furnish them with the requisite implements, seeds, and artificial manure." "Farm produce is carried to the national emporiums either by the farmers' horses and waggons, or by public conveyance."

Cabet also mentions the following important regulation for the management of farms :—“The farmers in Icaria are obliged to keep a strict statistical account of their farm produce, of how much they send to the national storehouses, and of how much they themselves consume.”

CHAPTER XXX.—EDUCATION.

“Room must be found for all in the dominion of education and intelligence.”—LOUIS BLANC.

THE general scope and manner of education in the future social state must have presented itself in all its bearings to the reader who, carefully and attentively, went over all the subjects treated in previous chapters, especially in those describing the arrangements for the domestic home, for agricultural and educational labour. From the suggestions made in these and other chapters the whole system of education, as adopted by the future social state, is easily construed, although no separate chapter has previously treated on this subject in a more comprehensive manner. The arrangements described before were to secure equal elementary, scientific, artistic, and industrial training to all children ; the educational establishments were to be situated in the country, and not in towns ; children were to be accustomed to take, gradually, part in all kinds of labour ; and the two sexes were to be educated in separate establishments.

All social theorists, from Lycurgus and Socrates to the socialists and communists of our own age, have regarded education as of paramount importance to the state. Sparta's greatness and predominance amongst the states of ancient

Greece was chiefly attained and maintained, during 800 years, by those marvellous educational arrangements which, physically and intellectually, trained the Spartan youth of both sexes to become good citizens, as well as able and cunning defenders of their country.

The great importance of education arises from the well-known fact that early training gives a decided direction to the character with which a man will act in after life.

Of the advantages of early instruction, Plato says :—“The early training of youth may even begin before he can partake of reason ; because when reason comes, having been then trained, he will heartily embrace it, because he clearly recognises it from its intimate familiarity with himself.” And again :—“The beginning of every work is most important, especially to anyone young and tender ; because then that particular impression is most easily instilled and formed, which anyone may wish to imprint on an individual.”

The evil results of an absence or deficiency of early training, especially when wanting in the moral sphere of education, are pointed out in a very marked manner by Sir Thomas More, who says :—“If you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves, and then punish them ?”

And also :—“The Utopians use all possible methods to infuse, very early, into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves and will be useful to their country ; for when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ignorance.”

The opinions of these two celebrated social theorists, although to some extent verified by the results of the Spartan education, were yet more fully and more recently put to a practical test by the new educational arrangements introduced by Robert Owen at New Lanark, and of which Mr. Sargent says :—“The results of R. Owen’s experiment at New Lanark deserve to be handed down to history, as the germ of those efforts that have

The vital importance of the formation of the character of all men during infancy and childhood must also have actuated the framer of the Icarian institutions, for Cabet says :—“ Education being considered in Icaria as the foundation of society, the state provides an equal instruction and training for all.”

And again :—“ The Icarians consider education to be the greatest of all blessings, and they look upon their children as the invaluable treasure and great hope of their country.”

And also :—“ We consider education to be the foundation of the whole of our social and political system, and it is on education that the people of Icaria bestow their greatest attention.”

Babeuf says :—“ Education ought to be national, in common, and equal.”

This agrees with the views set forth in a previous chapter, carrying out the sacred principle of equality, which ought to afford to every child all possible means and opportunities of having its aptitudes tested, its talents and faculties developed, and its genius evoked.

Fourier urges the attainment of the same elevated aim of equality and superiority of education in saying :—“ In the commune all the children receiving an education exactly the same, that is, the education most favourable to the development of their faculties, aptitudes, and vocations, will have cultivated minds and polished manners.”

Saint Simon is still more emphatic, and exclaims :—“ All my life may be summed up in a single thought—to secure to all men the freest development of their faculties.”

He says further :—“ As society in future will be composed of artists, learned men (savans), and industrials, there will, therefore, be three branches of education, which will have for their object to develop: the one, sympathy, the source of the fine arts; another, the rational faculty, the instrument of science; the third, finally, material activity, the instrument of industry.”

Lepelletier, one of Babeuf’s associates in the conspiracy for equality, proposed that education should be gratuitous, literary, intellectual, physical, moral, and industrial.

Cabet states that in Icaria education is of a similar character :—“ Education in Icaria is divided into several branches, and we distinguish it under its physical, intellectual, moral, industrial and civil aspect. But in all these respects it is equal to all.”

An exposition of Cabet's views on education is further given in *Voyage en Icarie*, where these words occur:—"Education in Icaria is partly domestic and partly common. Elementary, or general education, is the same to all; special education relates to the learning of arts, sciences, and professions. General education includes instruction in the elements and rudiments of all sciences and arts."

Cabet makes here an important distinction between general and special education, which is of great importance to the social reformer; but it must also be remarked that the schools for the special training in arts and sciences will always be open to all adults of both sexes,—an arrangement which seems not to be implied in Cabet's suggestion.

That enlightened goodness in the direction of education does more good than harsh treatment, we learn from Mr. Sargant, who writes of the results obtained by R. Owen's training system in these words:—"At New Lanark punishment was unknown. There was no reward but the inward satisfaction of well-doing, and the approbation of a teacher who was beloved. It was Owen who first proved to Englishmen that in the training of youth love is a stronger power than fear; that if education is to be beneficial it must first be made attractive; if it is to influence the character for good, it must not excite terror or inflame opposition."

In evading compulsion and abstaining from punishment by substituting for them the exclusive application of kindness and persuasion, R. Owen carried out, practically, what Plato had taught theoretically in his "Republic," where these words occur:—"Everything, then, relating to arithmetics and geometry, and all the previous instruction which they should receive before they learn dialectics, ought to be set before them while they are children, and on such a plan of teaching that they may learn without compulsion; because a free man ought to acquire no learning under slavery; for the labours of the body when endured through compulsion do not at all deteriorate the body;* but as for the soul, it can endure no compulsory disci-

* Excessively heavy physical labour does though. Plato makes here a vain attempt to justify the institution of slavery, which he held in such veneration that he formed his Ideal Republic for the *guardians* alone.

pline. Do not, then, force boys to their learning, but train them up by amusements, that you may be better able to discern the direction of each one's genius."

Great stress has been laid in a former part of this work on the important service that education can render in the discovery of special aptitudes and talents, which by its assistance will surely be found to be much more numerous than has hitherto been admitted to be the case.

"Severity of punishments in school discipline is also discommended by Cabet, who says:—"To hate and ill-treat an incapable pupil, or even a lazy one, seems an injustice, a folly, bordering on barbarism, and would render the master a great deal less inexcusable than the pupil."

Of the general manner of teaching in the Icarian schools, Cabet says:—"One of the chief principles which the Icarians pursue in the instruction given in their schools is to make all learning easy, rapid, and agreeable to the pupils. The beauty of the school buildings,* and the excellent accommodation they afford, the patience and kindness of the masters, and their skilfulness, the simplicity of methods and clearness of demonstration, the mixture of study and play, concur all in attaining the object of making study easy, rapid, and agreeable."

That the very same plan was pursued by R. Owen we know from it having been said that "at New Lanark the instruction

* Mr. W. Jolly, one of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools in Scotland, in his general report for 1875, pleads for schoolrooms which shall themselves be good teachers. There is, he observes, a passive education of taste carried on by the surroundings of the child in school—by the schoolroom, the furniture, the arrangements, the decorations, the teacher, and the insensible effect of the whole teaching and work; all which influences permeate the child's life, and elevate or depress his nature. Hence the importance of making our schoolrooms sweet and tasteful places, educators of the higher part of the children's nature, and the privileges and duty of using this influence to raise the general taste of the nation. Mr. Jolly states that beautiful and artistic examples of work of high art can be obtained at very small prices for the adornment of schoolrooms; and he expresses his hope that school boards will make the schoolrooms in this way centres of bright and high influence. He maintains that the most effective field of asthetic culture and refinement at our command lies in the common schools; and that no national improvement in manner, learning, and taste will be possible except through the common schools.

was conducted in such a way as to be agreeable instead of irksome. In all respects the system succeeded admirably. During the day the parents were relieved from the care and the superintendence of their children."

That punishments are not altogether dispensed with in the schools of Icaria, we learn from Cabet, who says :—"The punishments allowed in the schools of the Icarians are fixed by the code of the scholars, containing all manner of punishable offences, and the amount of punishments inflicted for it. This code of rules the pupils have to learn by heart in order to better conform to it."

An arrangement of this kind would certainly have prevented the gross outrage that was lately committed by Mr. Moss, the headmaster of Shrewsbury School, who inflicted eighty-eight stripes with the birch on a boy named Loxdale.

That agriculture is not only to be an object of general education and a mere theoretical study, but that it is also to be practically learned, and that all children are often to be put to agricultural labour not only for learning it, but also for the purpose of partially sharing and reducing the labour of the adult population, is also advised by almost all social reformers. Thus Sir Thomas More says :—"The Utopians are instructed in agriculture from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice, they being led out often into the fields about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves."

Cabet says :—"In Icaria the elements of agriculture, mechanics, and industry (technical training) form also part of the general education."

And again :—"In order to join practice to the theory of agriculture, the children are frequently taken out into the fields, where the fruits of the earth are shown and explained to them, and where they learn to take a share in every kind of labour fitted for their age and strength. The more the children grow up, the stronger and older they get, the more agricultural labour they have to perform."

Babeuf says :—"In the national schools there will be room for dining in common; workshops, where each pupil will be trained in the art which was the object of his preference; on the one side extensive grounds, where the youths may be seen

at one time engaged in the works of agriculture, and at another lodged in military fashion under tents."

Robert Owen also proposed, that "on the new plan of the proposed agricultural villages, all children will have to take part in work. At six years old they would begin to work an hour a day in the open air; at seven years old two hours a day, and so on, until by twelve years old they will have arrived at the maximum of seven hours a day.

The participation of all youths in heavy work is advocated by Babeuf, who says:—"The youths who form their country's hope ought to be exercised in the most laborious works of agriculture and the mechanical arts, to become habituated to the most difficult movements, and to live in the strictest frugality."

That the art and science of teaching, or educational labour, must likewise be taught and learned, is hinted at by Cabet, who says:—"In the schools of the Icarians pupils are also frequently instructed and employed in the art of mutual instruction." Consequently they will be rendered fit to take their due share in the performance of educational labour.

Cabet also says:—"In Icaria everyone is accustomed to teach to others that which he himself knows."

Scientific instruction and artistic training have ever been a favourite subject with all social theorists, and consequently we meet with frequent passages on this topic in their writings.

Plato speaks of the great advantages derived from learning computation (arithmetics and mathematics), geometry and astronomy, saying:—"Observe that branch of science which concerns computation, how refined it is, and in many ways useful to us as respects our wishes, if we will apply ourselves thereto for the sake of getting knowledge, and not with a view of traffic. Persons naturally skilled in computation seem clever in all branches of science, and whereas those naturally slow, if instructed and exercised in this, will yet all of them, if they derive no other advantage, make such progress as to become cleverer than they were before."

"It makes an entire difference every way, whether a man be acquainted with geometry (plain and solid) or not."

"Astronomy leads to acute perceptions respecting the times

of months and years, suitable not only for agriculture, but also for navigation."

"It is rather difficult to persuade the multitude that by these branches of study some organ of the soul in each individual is purified and rekindled like fire."

Plato even imagines the possibility of every member of the community being taught jurisprudence, and thus be made fit to become a lawyer and even a judge. This idea entirely coincides with the views of the author of this work, who, in "The Democratic Charter of the Future," places the criminal and civil jurisdiction into the hands of the people, by which the judgeship is altogether suppressed.*

Plato says on this subject:—"Does it not seem base and a great proof of defective education to be obliged to see justice pronounced as by others, as our masters and judges, and yet to have no sense of it in ourselves? How much better or more noble it is so to regulate life as not to need a sleepy judge."

Sir Thomas More endorses Plato, saying:—"The Utopians have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws; and, therefore, they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause. Every one of them is skilled in their law. In Utopia all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty."

Of the subjects taught in the schools of Icaria, Cabet says:—"All Icarians, without distinction, receive the same general and elementary education, including instruction in all the elements of science and human knowledge."

"In this elementary education, which lasts up to the age of eighteen, all pupils acquire also a knowledge of drawing and mathematics. The Icarian schools also give them a general idea of all arts and handicrafts, of raw materials, tools, and machines. The Icarian education joins, however, practice to theory, and teaches children the handling of the various tools, of the plane, the saw, the file, the chisel, etc.; and in this way the youths are imperceptibly introduced to and become expert in all the various occupations to which they will be called when leaving the educational establishments of the state."

* The popular assembly which gave a verdict in favour of Demosthenes, after his celebrated oration on the Crown, was judge and jury in one.

"In all the schools of Icaria the children learn freehand drawing as an elementary subject of instruction. Therefore you will not find a single man or woman amongst the Icarians who cannot draw from nature any object put before them, and there is not a workman to be seen who has not always his pencil and a sketchbook by his side, to be always ready to put an idea down that may present itself to him."

That geography was even successfully taught at New Lanark to very young children, is known from the testimony of an admiral, who having visited the schools, said "that though he had sailed round the world, he could not answer many of the questions he had heard, and to which children not six years of age easily replied."

Babeuf endeavoured to put a certain restriction on subjects taught, excluding all those the results of which are not communicable to all. But since there is scarcely any art, science, or profession imaginable, which would not permit that its works and productions should be enjoyed by everyone, we must think that Babeuf had in view the restriction of the learning handicrafts and occupations administering unto luxury. He says:—"In the houses of education the works of art and handicrafts should be restricted to those objects which are easily communicable to all."

On gymnastical training, *Voyage en Icarie* contains the following valuable remarks:—"Gymnastic games may begin with all children at an early age, by being shown the best manner of walking, running, jumping, balancing, walking on stilts, climbing, swimming, boating, skating, fencing, drilling, etc. All these exercises develop and fortify the body. Some of the most simple agricultural and industrial manipulations may also be enjoined for gymnastic purposes."

Equality of education for both sexes is demanded by Plato, who says:—"In order, therefore, that a woman may become a suitable guardian, there will not be one mode of education for making men (guardians) and another for women, especially as the latter have received the same natural genius."

The separation of the sexes in schools, and the difference of training them, are ably stated by Babeuf, who says:—"From the natural division of our species arise two branches of education, one for males, the other for females. The differences made

by nature between the sexes apprises us that we cannot indiscriminately employ the same process of training for each."

"It is important to the vigour and conservation of individuals, that the development of the passion of love, and of the sexual desire, which are accelerated by early intercourse and contact of the sexes, should be retarded by their separation at school."

CHAPTER XXXI.—FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

ALTHOUGH the principal foundation to the conception of the true nature of man's character was laid as long ago as 1690 by John Locke's "Essay concerning the Human Understanding," and in which he fully proved that there are no innate ideas formed by the human mind, yet it is to Robert Owen that we chiefly owe the practical application of this philosophic discovery. What the deep-thinking Locke elaborated theoretically, Robert Owen applied practically. Introducing his doctrine of the formation of character, he says:—"No difference of latitude, nor climate, nor generation, has produced a stranger discrepancy between man and man than may be found existing together in the same country and at the same time; and this difference is caused by the institutions of society; it consists in the graduations of rank, wealth, education, and morality. One man is naturally as good as another; all should have an equal chance of avoiding ignorance, vice, and poverty; yet such is so little the case that these misfortunes have actually become hereditary."

And again:—"Two causes determine the character of man; first, the disposition received at birth; second, the circumstances which from childhood upwards are brought to bear upon that disposition. Surrounded by conditions favourable to the growth of virtue, man will nearly universally become virtuous; if, on the contrary, he is exposed to the impure influence of vice, he will with no less certainty become vicious." Then he concludes thus:—"Withdraw the circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created. Replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry, and

other qualities will be produced." And finally he charges the formation of bad characters to society, "whose institutions are the work of our hands."

That there is great truth in these views of Robert Owen no one will deny; but it is not the whole truth. Robert Owen himself admits that disposition, temperament, physical organization, and the influence of the passions may form another factor in the influences which create man's ideas and prompt his actions; but he took little or no account of the mind's inherent power of reasoning, which we know produces so-called strong and weak minds and intellects, ranging in innumerable gradations between the genius and the idiot. He was forced to admit that a man's reasoning faculties and power of will are the results of the action of the brains; and the brains being part of man's organization, that this organization plays an important part in the formation of character. Having admitted the existence of this second factor in the formation of character, he was asked which of the two was the stronger. This question remaining unanswered, deprives Robert Owen's assertion "that circumstances alone form the character of man," of half of its important truth. And as it will probably for ever remain unanswerable, we can only take for granted that man's ideas, actions, and character are influenced (1) by the education he receives when a child; (2) by the surrounding circumstances in after-life; (3) by his organization, including disposition, temperament, power of the mind, and promptings of the passions.

From this we draw the practical conclusion that, though man's character is greatly influenced by extraneous circumstances not forming part of his organization, it is also more or less determined by the will of each person, and by the inherent power of reasoning.

But having pointed out the great importance of the influence of circumstances on the formation of character, Robert Owen has, through his discovery, become one of the greatest benefactors of mankind, and more so as he has shown, by practical experiments, that the character of both children and adults can be favourably directed to morality and abstention from crime, when acted upon by morally good influences. Of the benefits already derived from Owen's tenet, that "man is

the creature of circumstances," Mr. Sargent enumerates :—1. "The mildness of our recent criminal laws; 2. The institution of reformatories; 3. The anxiety of our day to promote education; 4. The fitting out of training ships for bad boys; 5. A general desire to prevent crime rather than to punish it. These are the fruits of the doctrines so early and so laboriously advocated by R. Owen." That the work of reforming the character of adults must always offer great difficulties, was already perceived by Plato, who says :—"When they (the guardians) have got for their ground work the state and manners of mankind, they would first make them *pure*, which is not altogether an *easy* matter; for you know that in this they differ from others,—in being unwilling to meddle either with a private man or state, or to prescribe laws, till they have either received them as pure, or themselves have made them so. As they proceed in the work of drawing a sketch of their form of Government, they will frequently look in two directions,—not only to what is naturally just and beautiful and temperate and the like, but also, again, to that which they can establish among mankind, blending and compounding their human form out of *different human characters* and pursuits, drawing from what Homer calls the divine likeness and the divine resemblance subsisting among men."

CHAPTER XXXII.—PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.

"Force, refused admission into the dominion of Labour, passes into the camp of Crime; . . . while we hesitate to organize an association of labourers, we behold an organized association of assassins."—LOUIS BLANC.

THIS motto of the celebrated French socialist introduces at once the prospect that the future communistic state of society, founded on the organization of labour, will be an effective barrier against crime. The same opinion was held by Sir Thomas More, who, witnessing the dreadful punishments which at his own time were inflicted on thieves, said that "it would be much better to make such good provisions by which

every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing."

Robert Owen advises society to study and to apply the means of prevention rather than retribution, saying:—"Hitherto the efforts of society have been solely devoted to the repression of crime by punishment; henceforth they will be directed to its prevention."

In this opinion he is also borne out by his biographer, Mr. Sargent, who maintains that "it is better to prevent crime than to punish it; and that, as far as possible, neither child nor man ought to be exposed to temptations stronger than he can resist."

The experiments made at New Lanark by Robert Owen, and at Mettray by Monsieur de Metz, have satisfactorily proved the truth that by reformatory training and preventive regulations the character of both juveniles and adults may be restored.

Trustworthy eye-witnesses of the working of R. Owen's community establishment at New Lanark report that "they never saw a happier congregation of people; the manners and morals of the inhabitants of the place had greatly improved; and that with the infliction of scarcely one legal punishment, the worst habits had disappeared, with a fair prospect that the minor ones would also be rooted out. The community of more than 2,000 persons exhibited an appearance of industry, temperance, comfort, health, and happiness not to be met with elsewhere."

The excellent reformatory for young criminals established at Mettray by Monsieur de Metz, can show results which render any eulogy on the system pursued there almost superfluous. Such statistics as the following speak for themselves:—3,104 "colonists" left Mettray in December 1872; of these, 1,593 became agriculturists, 707 workmen, 604 soldiers, 110 sailors, 4 belong to the Legion of Honour, 24 have received the military medal, 5 are officers, many are non-commissioned officers, corporals, etc. Before the establishment of this reformatory, young criminals were reconvicted in the proportion of 75 per cent.; only 4 per cent. of the colonists of Mettray were re-convicted in 1872.

The abandonment of the vindictive and retributive character

of punishments, inflicting suffering and pain because crime is a sin and moral delinquency, is sure to introduce a milder* application of all punishments; and that such is even partly the case in the present administration of the criminal law, is evident from the often reiterated assertion that crimes are now chiefly punished for the protection of society and not as retribution to the criminal.

This practical view of the necessity of punishment for the protection of society, irrespective of the criminal's moral guilt (which he may have wiped out by repentance before the punishment is inflicted), removes the great difficulty which arose from R. Owen's philosophy, that man being the creature of circumstances, is not to be held a responsible being, and therefore all punishments inflicted on him for crimes which he could not help committing, are unjust and irrational.

If in an improved state of society there should arise the sad necessity of punishing crimes, it will likewise be done solely for the protection of society, and the law will take no cognizance of a man's responsibility or irresponsibility, except he be of unsound mind; and in the same manner as the maniac is locked up and secured in the asylum in order to protect society from any attack ensuing from his madness, just so will society act against criminal offenders; and the punishment inflicted on them will have but this one aim—to secure society from further attacks; and when this purpose is attained, milder treatment may gradually be introduced.

Cabet describes the kinds of punishment that are in use in Icaria, saying:—"The declaration or public statement of the crime committed, publicity of the judgment in various degrees of extent, loss of certain social, civil, and political rights: these are the punishments inflicted by the tribunals of Icaria."

He further states by whom law is administered there, saying:—"All criminal and civil jurisdiction in Icaria is exercised by the public assemblies of the people, who themselves are the juries and judges."

Sir Thomas More says that in Utopia those that are found

* "Experience shows that relaxation of punishment rather than increase of severity produces a diminution of crime."—MR. HENLY in the House of Commons on the 14th of June, 1875.

guilty of theft are bound to restitution to the owner. Their thieves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned nor chained. This sort of punishment agrees in character with the prolongation of a man's term of work, which is to extend beyond his fiftieth year in consequence of idleness or for other offences, if the security of society is sufficiently protected by such a punishment.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN.

THE future welfare of mankind will largely depend on the solution of the question, "What position woman will occupy in society?" In assigning the proper place to her in all the various social, civil, political, religious, industrial, and educational functions in the community, the nature of her bodily and mental faculties has to be taken into account, in order to adapt her mission to her capabilities.

That the nature of woman is still a dark mystery to many, and even to women themselves, is evident, or else we would not meet with expressions like the following, uttered by Mrs. William Grey at the Belfast Congress of the British Association (August, 1874):—"What we want to know is, whether the difference between the sexes is one of kind or degree, or only of proportion between their various mental and moral faculties." A satisfactory solution of this difficult problem could scarcely be expected from the professors of physical sciences assembled at Belfast; but a great deal of light may be thrown upon the question by consulting the opinions expressed by the most prominent social innovators. Although each of them approaches the truth from a different direction, yet the aggregate result of their views on the subject of the nature of woman furnishes a most rational and solid basis, on which any efficient reforms for her emancipation must be placed.

Plato says:—"There is no function among the entire members of our state that is peculiar to woman considered as such, nor to man considered as such, but natural talents are indiscriminately diffused through both, and the woman naturally shares in all offices the same as the man, though in all cases

the woman is weaker than the man. One woman is fitted for being a physician, and another not so; one is musical, another by nature unmusical. One is fitted for gymnastics and war-like, another neither for gymnastics nor war; one is a lover of philosophy, and another averse to it; one is high spirited, and another timid. The nature, then, of the woman and the man is the same,—only that the one is weaker, the other stronger."

These ideas of the ancient and divine philosopher are the more remarkable, as they in principle admit women to their rightful practice and enjoyment of science and art.

Plato further says:—"Whether the women remain in the state or go forth to war, they ought to keep guard with the men, and hunt with them like hounds, and in every case take a share in all things as far as they can, and that doing these things they will do what is best and not contrary to the nature of the female, as regards the male,—by which nature, indeed, they act jointly with one another." These proposals of Plato give to the social reformer two important hints: firstly, to employ women even in dangerous and heavy work; and secondly, to let them perform their social duties conjointly with men. The conjoint performance of work will be a powerful means of attraction and encouragement.

Cabet, in *Voyage en Icarie*, says:—"The daughters of the Icarians have well revenged themselves on the opinion formerly prevalent, that their intelligence was inferior to that of their brothers, for nearly all of them rival successfully with the men. If in some sciences the latter excel, in others the former have carried the prize. Many of them amongst us rank high in literature (Mrs. Hannah Moore), in the fine arts (Rosa Bonheur as a painter, Madame Schumann as a musician), in mathematics and astronomy (Mrs. Sommerville), and many others in eloquence, medicine, and other sciences."

Cabet approaches the truth even nearer than Plato, for he admits that in some sciences and arts woman may even prove herself superior to man. Relying upon this truth, the social reformer will institute equality of education for both sexes.

Babeuf throws much light upon another side of woman's nature in saying:—"The woman, weaker than the man, is besides subject to the inconveniences of pregnancy and menstruation, to the pains of childbirth, and to the evils which are

the after consequences of them ; she is also gifted with charms which exercise so powerful an empire over the other sex. All these things must be considered in allotting labour to her. It appears she is destined for the less rude, dirty, and noisy occupations of life." From this the social reformer has to learn two things : firstly, that in assigning any duty, work, or occupation to women, account must be taken of the presence or absence of any of woman's ordinary diseases and ailings,—a precaution which is now often neglected, especially with women working in factories ; secondly, that women shall not be put to employments destructive either of woman's beauty or injurious to the organization of their finer physical senses and more delicate nervous system."

Although the bodily nature of woman greatly differs from that of man, yet both must be considered equal in their moral and intellectual faculties. This truth is practically verified by the criminal law of all ages and nations, which is indiscriminately applied in the same degree of punishment against both male and female offenders. In all civilized countries where capital punishment has not yet been abolished, we sometimes hear of the execution of women, who being considered rational and therefore responsible beings, have to suffer death on the scaffold or the guillotine.

Stuart Mill says :—" Woman is a rational being, and can rise to be the companion and even the equal of man, instead of being, as in old society, first his plaything and afterwards his tormentor." The remarkable sarcasm contained in the latter sentence of this quotation amounts to this, that as woman in old society is not educated up to the capabilities of her intellectual and moral nature, she will, from weakness of mind, abandon herself to become man's plaything, and from weakness of mind she will likewise be his tormentor.

The innate rational faculty of woman's mind places her, however, on a perfect equality with man, from whence also proceed her freedom, independence, equal right, and equal duties. On this point all great social theorists agree. Robert Owen says :—" As women in the New Moral World enjoy precisely the same rights as men, their position will be completely independent."

Enfantin says :—The wife should be the equal to the

husband ; and should be associated with him in the exercise of the triple function of the state, the temple, and the family. Cabet states that " in Icaria the women often enter the priesthood of the various churches."

Plato hints at the admission of women as members of the governing body of the state, when he introduces the following dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon.

" 'Socrates,' said he, 'you have made our governors all beautiful, just as a sculptor would.' 'And our governesses likewise, Glaucon,' said I; 'for suppose not that what I have said referred more to men than women,—such at least as have sufficient talent.'

The political emancipation of women so very early discussed amongst the philosophers of antiquity, received, however, only very recently a practical application, by one of the Swiss cantons having adopted the principle of female suffrage to the fullest extent, women being now eligible, not only as electors, but also as candidates for public offices. This is, however, but an infinitesimal realization of the aspirations and hopes of all enlightened reformers. The canton is but a very small one, and in all other countries, even America and England not excepted, the movement for the political emancipation of woman makes but tardy progress.

Enfantin pointedly says :—" Christianity has lifted woman out of servitude, but it has placed her into subordination to man, and therefore we find her, throughout Christian Europe, still stricken with religious, political, and civil interdiction."

Of the present social and domestic position of woman, Fourier says:—" Women are now chiefly banished into the interior of the household, and have to limit their activity and their faculties to the care of it. Nature has, however, given to them, as to the men, various aptitudes, artistic, scientific, and industrial ; but modern society pays little or no attention to these important elements of woman's nature. In the poorer classes we even see unfortunate women obliged to unite to their full day's work in the factory the arduous and daily care of a household with more or less encumbrance."

CHAPTER XXXIV.—SEXUAL INTERCOURSE.

THREE are six imaginable variations of sexual intercourse :—1. Polygamy ; 2. Indissoluble monogamy ; 3. Matrimony with restricted divorce ; 4. Facilitated divorce ; 5. Free sexual intercourse ; 6. Forced community of women. Of these six variations, the first three are actually in rightful practice under the protection of English authority ; the fourth is resorted to by all those who separate by consent or desertion, and form new sexual unions ; the fifth takes place in all cases which result in the birth of illegitimate children ; the sixth has been suggested by some social theorists.

Polygamy has not only been condemned by all enlightened men as a mode of sexual intercourse opposed to all notions of morality, and injurious to the procreative power of the male, but, moreover, it has been entirely abandoned by all social reformers as being contrary to a system of equality in the distribution of enjoyments ; for as nature has only provided one female for one male in the distribution of the sexes, the appropriation of several or many women by one man must evidently prevent as many men as there are women living in polygamy from forming sexual unions.

The indissolubility of marriage in monogamy is generally defended on the biblical text that “those whom God has joined, man shall not sunder.” John Milton’s explanation of this text is most ingenious, and merits to be quoted :—“Does God join the pair through witnesses and parties, through Church rites, or is carnal union meant by joining? Surely not. It can only mean the union of the souls and minds that are fitly disposed to solace and love each other, and to continue in this state of happiness. But whenever this mutual tie is broken, the secular power can dissolve marriage.”

Christian moralists, moreover, defend indissoluble and permanent matrimony as a means of subduing and deadening the sexual instinct, which they say is generally accomplished at the waning of the honeymoon. Many wise men have doubted the efficacy of marriage as a means of regulating and restraining the sexual desire. Amongst others, Lord Bacon, who says :—“There is little gained in using marriage as a remedy

against the abuse of the sexual desire, for the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether it will quench, but if you give it any vent (by marriage) it will rage."

Lord Bacon further stigmatizes in strong language other notions concerning the protective character of marriage against certain dangerous social evils, saying :—" You adopt marriage in order to avoid greater evils, as advoutries, rape, unnatural lust, and the like. This is a preposterous wisdom, and may be called Lot's offer, who, to save his guests from being abused, offered his daughters."

That the existence of a numerous and inclining prostitution is constantly undermining any good foundation on which permanent marriage is resting was likewise noticed by Lord Bacon, for he says :—" The depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements, where sin is turned into art, maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax."

And again :—" Marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence ; but when men have at hand (in prostitution) a remedy more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expulsed. And, therefore, there are an infinite number of men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life than to be yoked in marriage ; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years is past."

Cabet, the great French communist, thinks that by the abolition of money, property, and inheritance, many base motives which now often lead to the conclusion of unhappy marriages, will have the reason of their actions destroyed, and that permanent monogamy thus purified is even a possible institution in a communistic state. These are his words :—" As dowry and inheritance cannot form any attractions to marriage, for they do not exist in Icaria, personal qualities and accomplishments become the only considerations ; and as all young men and women are equally well educated, they cannot fail to become good husbands and wives, even if the couples to be married were chosen by the casting of the lot."

That the conclusion of matrimony was at all times strongly tainted with sordid motives may be adduced from Lord

Bacon's words, for he says :—"To many, marriage is but a bargain, wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire almost indifferent of issue, and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife that was first instituted."

Enfantin casts the same stigma on many marriages, saying :—"Marriage is often but a disgraceful traffic that consecrates the monstrous union of devotedness and egotism, of enlightenment and ignorance, of youth and decrepitude."

That the indissolubility of marriage is becoming a dangerous state to society, and that the religious arguments have been almost entirely set at nought by modern states, is clearly proved by the institution of more or less restrictive divorce laws in all civilized countries. England now limits divorce to cases of adultery and gross cruelty, committed by either of the conjugal partners; but it is very doubtful if a relaxation of this restriction will not become a necessity in the face of so many wife murders and instances of wife beating and wife desertion.

Robert Owen proposes divorce in all cases of incompatibility of character, and advises but slight restriction :—"Unions may be dissolved after six months' notice when both parties wish to separate, and in twelve months when only one party entertains such a wish." He also thinks that unhappy marriages will, in the New Moral World, more easily allow of dissolution, because the children of all will be provided for from an early age, after the Spartan fashion, by the state.

Thus this great difficulty in divorces will be removed.

Robert Owen also says :—"The community will only exercise such supervision over the union of the sexes as will prohibit the reproduction of diseases and the multiplication of an inferior race. Considerable allowance for the mutability of the affections must be made in facilitating divorce."

Indissoluble matrimony having once been openly broken by modern divorce laws, and these having been introduced on a sliding scale (for they are less restrictive in one country than in another), it will be impossible to prevent legislation from sliding down to the bottom of the scale, and reaching free sexual intercourse by removing all possible legal impediments in cases of separation. Such an occurrence is not improbable, especially when we find that even one of the greatest sages of

modern times, Alexander von Humboldt, gives his assent to voluntary and unimpeded divorce in all instances of unhappy connections. The words expressive of this assent were given in a former chapter of this work, but their quotation cannot be too often repeated ; for one must presume that the transcendent and giant intellect as well as the high moral standing of this truly great man, would not have permitted a hasty expression on such a momentous issue without a firm conviction that it was just, wise, and morally good. In his treatise on the " Duties of Government," Baron von Humboldt says that " marriage, having the peculiarity that its objects are frustrated unless the feelings of both the parties are in harmony with it, should require nothing more than the declared will of either party to dissolve it."

As the parties cannot voluntarily separate in the new state without a public declaration, it must likewise be taken for granted that a public declaration is required when they enter into matrimonial alliance, and that as long as they remain happily united the law will protect them by punishing any outside disturbers of this happiness ; and this is sure to be done more severely than for any other offence, as the destruction of anyone's happiness is a crime of great magnitude. This protection will certainly be granted in an improved social state ; for in doing so society will act as the guardian of man's greatest treasure, the loss of which could not be compensated by all that liberty, equality, and fraternitv could offer him instead.

Money being abolished, and dwelling and furniture being allotted by the state, abduction and elopement will become an impossibility ; seduction of married women will be greatly checked by the facility of divorce ; violence and assaults between married parties will greatly diminish in sight of easy separation, and criminal conversation will be avoided by a higher standard of moral training, and by the more frequent association of people in the public assembly rooms than in private circles. The private apartments of the future consisting of but sleeping and dressing accommodation, there will be less opportunity for illicit intercourse. The private dwellings in the Associated Home might even be altogether closed during the day.

If some arrangement could be devised which would carry out Plato's suggestion, that no woman should dwell *privately*

with any man, it would be of great advantage in various ways. Many occasions to quarrels, assaults, and murders would become removed ; by not passing the whole night in sexual pleasure, both male and female would the next day be fresh awake and better fitted to their daily work. The sleeping together of man and wife in the same room, or even, as it is customary in England, in the same bed, is unhealthy, and even indecent. Unhealthy it must be during the woman's time of menstruation ; or any other ailings, as violent coughing, crying out in dreams, restlessness, snoring, with which one bedfellow disturbs the sleep and repose of the other,—both of which are indispensably necessary to the preservation of health and cheerfulness. Indecent it is, because the sexes must dress and undress in sight of each other.

Free social intercourse is the only mode of sexual union which guarantees the greatest amount of freedom to both parties, and any other arrangement going beyond this would be a wanton outrage against the dictates of reason and common sense. It has often been asserted that the modern communistic school advocates the community of women. Marriage, it is said, has been declared by them incompatible with Communism, and this on the ground that the satisfaction of all our wants, and therefore also of our sexual desire, must be rendered equally possible to all ; which cannot be done without the community of women. The detractors of Communism had an easy proof at hand for their insinuation by referring to Plato's " Republic," and pointing out this passage to his modern disciples :—" After the enactment that our male and female guardians are to manage all things in common, the following comes naturally. The women shall be all common to all the men ; no one woman is to dwell *privately* with any man ; and that their children likewise be common ;—so that neither the parents shall know their own children, nor the children their parents." It is further quoted by these insinuators, that both Socrates and Plato propose to carry out the practice of the community of women in the following manner :—" Once every year all marriages shall be dissolved, and renewed by the casting of lots, by which means every woman can successively become the wife of from fifteen to twenty different husbands, and every man the husband to as many wives."

That these great philosophers of antiquity have overstepped the bounds of reason is clear, for there is one fatal objection to be encountered by the advocates of the community of women ; it is the question, what will become of the liberty of woman, and, in Plato's allotment marriage, even of man ? If the claims of equality are allowed to destroy the action of personal freedom they infringe upon the sacred rights of man, and become as such inadmissible ; nor can the claims of absolute liberty, as invoked by the advocates of polygamy, be permitted to ignore the principle of equality (*see page 382*). The political emancipation of woman * will in the end prove the strongest safeguard of her own freedom in her social relations, including sexual intercourse.

CHAPTER XXXV.—CELIBACY.

CELIBACY has been and is still encouraged. From the time of the Vestal Virgins of ancient Rome up to our own enlightened age, there have always been men and women who, from religious motives, chose a voluntary celibacy. The Church of Rome counts, even at the present time, a great number of well-filled monasteries and nunneries in all countries of the world, England included. Men and women are attracted to these sacred abodes, and to renounce marriage, by an article of faith which teaches them that virginity and chastity kept for ever intact is more pleasing to the Deity than even breaking it under the sacramental sanction of matrimony. "To marry is well, but not to marry is better." In teaching celibacy to be a chaster state of Christian life than marriage, the Roman Catholics have no scruple to cast odium on matrimony, although it be one of their seven holy sacraments. Perhaps when they become alive to the incongruity that celibacy is chaster and holier than matrimony, they will raise the former into a sacrament too, and promulgate a new dogma ! St. Paul, in writing to Timothy, describes the forbidding to marry as a demoniacal doctrine and a sign of the great apostacy (1 Timothy iv. 1-3).

* "According to all the principles involved in modern society, the question rests with women themselves—to be decided by their own experience, and by the use of their own faculties."—J. S. MILL.

That there is even a model republican state in which celibates are tolerated, may be learned from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"In Utopia, there exist two religious sects; the members of the one live unmarried, but those of the other prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature, and to their country; nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labour: the Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect."

"Of the celibate sect he also says:—"Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges or dig turf, gravel, or stone. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessaries, on carts, into their towns; nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves; for if there is anywhere a rough hard and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labour and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labour: and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit, to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation."

Idle celibates, then, there are none in Utopia, and their voluntary participation in all rough, hard, and loathsome labour is an admirable and convincing proof that religious motives may and do play an important *rôle* in the conscientious performance of labour; but it is also evident that this may take place without the abstention from marriage. Nevertheless, Sir Thomas More has in this narrative contributed his quota to the extremely difficult solution of the problem, as to how rough, dangerous, and repulsive labour will be performed when both money and property have gone out of existence; for although he has not perceived the inexorable and irrefutable consequences of the principle of equality, which demands that all physical labour be equally shared by all the members of the

community, yet he coincides with the views of modern communists in this, that even the most absolute enforcement of equality in the performance of labour does not prohibit one man to do the work of another, be it from motives of charity, friendship, gratitude, or any other consideration.

Robert Owen condemns celibacy as an evil to be suppressed for moral and physiological reasons. He says :—"Celibacy, in either sex, beyond the period designed by nature, is not a virtue, but, on the contrary, a crime against nature, causing other unnatural crimes." And again :—"Marriage will be encouraged, and celibacy discouraged as a cause leading to disease the body and mind, and to unnatural thoughts, feelings, and conduct." Both voluntary and forced celibacy are most hurtful, when, at the time of the age of puberty, nature makes her most violent demands for the satisfaction of the sexual instinct. Involuntary seminal emissions have a tendency to become chronic, and are in many instances the secret steps to self-abuse, ending in the bodily and mental prostration and moral ruin of the unfortunate youths, the innocent victims of a state of society in which the opportunities to marry at the right time do not exist for them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—OVER-POPULATION.

THAT a universal facility of marriage and subsequent increase in the number of people is not to be dreaded, Robert Owen argues in this manner :—"The vast increase of productive power from the abolition of useless professions and destructive luxury, will so augment the riches of the world that no providential considerations will be necessary to restrain the production of children." And also :—"The earth is yet a wilderness for want of people to drain its marshes, and to cultivate its soil,* nor does it yet produce one-thousandth part of the excellence and enjoyment which it is capable of bringing forth."

* Mr. Cobden used frequently to say that the valley of the Mississippi, when once brought under proper cultivation, would alone suffice to feed the whole of Europe.

Since Robert Owen first propagated these views, the means of conveyance by railroads and ocean steamers have increased to such an extent that cereals, breadstuff, ham, bacon, cheese, preserved meats, and even live cattle can be brought from the most distant transatlantic countries without any perceptible deterioration.

This facilitated intercourse of all countries of the world will finally bring about the realization of Owen's idea, that the immense increase of production in manufactured articles can be exchanged for an equivalent amount of food. If to this facilitated interchange between agricultural and industrial produce we add, as new means of subsistence, the extension of the fisheries of all countries having any seacoast; the new discovery of the fish and oyster culture; the continually increasing number of new alimentary substances, and the application of scientific treatment to the art of cookery, we need not be alarmed by the prediction of a great and calamitous human inundation, against which the Malthusians propose to erect a new Tower of Babel by a system of checks, which are not only opposed to human nature, but must be discarded as superfluous remedies for an evil that does not and never will exist.

Malthus and his disciples are also wrong in asserting that the great amount of pauperism actually existing in all civilized countries is the sad result of over-population. Malthus himself may be excused for taking this erroneous view, for at his time, emigration from populous countries had scarcely yet begun; but his disciples, especially the author of "Physical, Sexual, and Natural Religion," cannot have been ignorant of the fact that Ireland, whose population has been reduced by nearly one half, is still encumbered with a most luxuriant crop of roaming and stationary pauperism.

Let us pass by the Malthusian alarmists, and listen once more to the refreshing and hopeful thoughts of Robert Owen:—"The increased power of industry by mechanical and scientific appliances will saturate the world with wealth."

And from this fructifying process of human labour, including both agriculture and manufacture, such an abundance of every consumable and useful article will be created, that it never can be overtaken by population; for industrial progress does not

advance in a graduated potential proportion, but strides forward in immeasurable bounds and starts; which, combined with the inexhaustible alimentary resources of the earth, rivers, and oceans, and with the tribute of the feathered tribes and other animals (of which some, like chickens and rabbits, can be bred in Malthusian progressions), will surely provide a never failing supply of human food, however large and rapid the increase of future generations of the human family may become.

So elated was Robert Owen with this hopeful prospect, that he exclaimed:—"Great Britain can support an incalculable increase of population; and that so far from fearing a too rapid augmentation, we should be unable sufficiently to stimulate its progress."

The discouragement addressed by Malthus to all social reformers who advocate the suppression of prostitution and the extinction of pauperism and advise the extension of marriage or free sexual intercourse to all single men and women, cannot deter them from their advocacy; for besides their trust in the unlimited resources of the alimentary produce of the earth and the sea, they can moreover rely on two other great facts, which will powerfully contribute to limit the increase of population. It is well known to all naturalists that animals as well as plants are least procreative or fruit-bearing when they grow most luxuriantly, and that on the contrary they are most prolific when hindered in their growth. Thus we find that a dwarf pear tree which had its branches cut, twisted, and bent in all directions, will be loaded with fruit, whilst a pear tree planted in the same soil but left to its natural growth, will present a most luxuriant foliage and great height, but with only a very few pears, hanging on its branches. Likewise, a small little woman will generally bear more children than a tall and stout one. The fact that the poor have a great many more children than the rich must be explained from a similar cause. It is also the reason why consumptive persons have their sexual desire excited to a greater degree than healthy individuals.

Free sexual intercourse will also to some extent check over-population; for between the periods of forming new connections, a considerable time will be spent in preliminary courtship.

Some objectors to free sexual intercourse have even insinuated

that if women were free to marry they would choose celibacy, in order to avoid the inconvenience of pregnancy and the pains of childbirth. It must certainly be admitted that innocent maidenhood has a natural dread of the conjugal union with man, but this will be easily overcome by the meeting of the sexes in the first flush of the passions, and this period of legitimate union being deferred until the full development of puberty, and highly favoured by festivals, games, dancing, public and private meetings of the parties, no woman will escape into celibacy, and the state will give its virgins away just in the same decent manner as fathers do now with their daughters.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—GOVERNMENT.

IN all civilized countries of the world the tendency of political progress has in this century aimed at the extension of the franchise. The clamouring of the people for participation in the government of the country has resulted, amongst some of the greatest nations, in the acquisition of universal suffrage, or in a large extension of the right of choosing persons to legislate and govern for the people. In Switzerland the people exercise even a final vote on every law proposed by their representatives legislatures.

Cabet says that “in Icaria the National Assembly directs, but in all important matters the whole mass of the people decides definitively.”

Considering that the Icarian institutions were elaborated by Cabet long before similar laws were adopted by Switzerland, one cannot help thinking of the marvellous spread of democratic ideas through the works of advanced writers.

Cabet greatly regrets that legislative power and action cannot be directly exercised by the people themselves, saying :—“If the whole people of Icaria could be assembled on one spot, no representative government would be needed, for they could, directly, instantly, and collectively, exercise their power of government.”

Had Cabet but had the slightest idea of the marvellous results of the electric telegraph, and of its possible application as an

admirable contrivance to collect and transmit to one central point the will and decision of the whole people,* in the shortest and surest way, we may presume that he would not have conceived the representative government adopted by the Icarians.

The institutions of Icaria claim, however, our serious attention, not only on account of the thorough democratic spirit they breathe, but also on account of their influence on recent political movements, which, as France and Spain, tended towards the establishment of federalism, or the government by small corporate bodies, towns, communes, districts, circles, or provinces.

Of the representative government, as instituted in Icaria, Cabet says :—

“ There is a national representation in Icaria, emanating directly from the power of the people.

“ There are a thousand sectional assemblies in Icaria, forming the popular government of the country, and those, voting sometimes by Ayes and Noes, on one and the same subject, express the wish of the whole nation.

“ There are sectional popular assemblies in every town and locality where a sufficient number of people can be brought together by being convoked three times a month, or at other times, either by a magistrate or by a certain number of the people themselves.

“ Every citizen has the right to bring before the popular assembly any project of law or reform, and to open a discussion on any subject relating to the national administration, or to ask any questions on public matters.

“ Even the presidents of the national assemblies in Icaria are working men. The actual president is a stonemason.

“ There is no House of Lords in Icaria, for all citizens possess equal political power; their popular assemblies are their high courts of parliament.”

The Democratic Charter of the Future annexed to this book as an appendix contains similar proposals, not as radical reforms, but as means of transition to a final communistic organization of society.

* “ Let us have electrical *conversazione* offices, communicating with each other all over the kingdom.”—FRANCIS RONALD, *first projector of the electric telegraph.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—RELIGION.

ALL great social reformers have at all times availed themselves of the religious feelings and convictions of their fellow men; and, as there never was, nor ever can be, a rational system of religion that does not preach the mutual love of all men, the close and intimate relation between communism and religion justifies the endeavours which social reformers have made to harmonize religion with communism.

Lycurgus, before introducing his institutions into Lacedemonia, first sought their sanction from the Delphian oracle, and succeeded by this ingenious stratagem in inducing his countrymen to undergo a great social change. Lycurgus may in this instance have fortuitously used the credulity of the Spartans, but such a stratagem is no more needed in the present enlightened age, when men are accustomed to listen to rational persuasion and argumentative reasoning. If told that to avoid evil and to do good is the precept of all religions, and that communism is nothing more nor less than the practical carrying out of this great maxim, they will give a ready hearing to the advocates of the communistic doctrine. Having thus been made predisposed to a patient hearing, they may further be made acquainted with the opinions of philosophers and social theorists concerning the influence of religion and morality on social reforms.

Already, Plato maintains that justice cannot be introduced into the organization of a state without a previous study of what is good. “The idea of the good is the highest branch of study,—about which, when justice and the other virtues employ themselves, they then become useful and advantageous.”

What the real good is, we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—“To do a great deal of good to mankind is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living.”

This maxim of Sir Thomas More introduces the first indication of the utilitarian doctrine so ably and persistently advocated by J. Stuart Mill, which is generally summed up in the well-known tenet, “to do the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.”

The utilitarian doctrine is, however, nothing more than the realization of the aim of Christianity, which is universal brotherhood.

Cabet therefore says:—"Christ, misunderstood and condemned by His contemporaries, nevertheless stands at the summit of humanity for His devotion to the happiness of mankind and for His teaching of the principle of fraternity and mutual love of all the members of the human family."

Saint Simon thinks that Christianity is capable of further development in its practical application, saying, "Christianity is progressive in its nature, and ought not to be confined within the limits of the canonical books, but ought to act and be acted on by the events of each period, and ought to be modified according to the existing manners of each nation and age. The only part of it which ought to remain eternally unchanged is the lesson, evidently Divine, "Love one another."

Buonarotti clearly shows the great advantage of introducing Christianity into social theories, saying:—"If Christianity had not been disfigured by impostors, it might have proved of vast service to all legislators friendly to their fellow-men. The pure and benevolent doctrine of Christ might become the basis of a sage reform, and the source of, really, social morals."

In how far the future state of society will present a greater facility for the true exercise of Christian charity has been frequently shown throughout the whole of this book, but more so in the chapter on charitable labour. When the prospects there foreshadowed become realized, then can it be said, in the words of Saint Simon:—"Christ has prepared universal brotherhood; and Communism will carry it out."

To what noble actions of charity and self-devotion the religious sentiment may give birth, we learn from Sir Thomas More, who says:—"There are many among the Utopians, that upon a motive of religion, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stone (see page 388).

In bringing Christian morality, and especially Christ's in-

junction, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," to bear upon Communism, social reformers must, however, be mindful of the great difficulty of practically realizing the ideal of universal brotherhood and Christian charity, and ought to well consider these words of Sir Thomas More in the Utopia :—"The greatest parts of Christ's precepts are opposite to the lives of the men of this age."

CHAPTER XXXIX.—SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

"Knowledge is the weapon of Democracy."—*DE TOCQUEVILLE.*

CABET says that man is distinguished from all other animated beings by his reason, perfectibility, and sociability. In appealing to his reason by arguments and demonstration, we are enabled to convince him of the truth of a thing, and to impart principles into his mind if they are found valid by the test of his reason. It is true that the power of reasoning may be deficient,—which certainly is the case with the untutored and undisciplined minds of a great number of ignorant people ; but there is sufficient reasoning power to be met with in the educated ranks of society to be acted upon by a scientific and ratiocinative exposition of the communistic doctrine. If this doctrine can be based upon a truly scientific foundation, its success and speedy propagation must inevitably follow. The opponents of Socialism and Communism are quite ready to accept a scientific solution of the social problem. Sargent says :—"The world must be converted to the doctrines of Socialism and Communism by demonstration, and not by myths and allegories."

Proudhon is convinced of the possibility of establishing a social science, saying :—"I have attained the conviction that the social problems, though at present ill-defined and with boundaries unfixed, are yet, like the natural sciences, susceptible of demonstration and proof."

Lamartine holds out the same hopeful prospect, saying :—"The democratic republic will give to political economy another form. It will transform it from a science of wealth into a science of fraternity, by the results of which the fruits

of labour will not merely be increased, but by which a more general, more equitable, and more universal distribution amongst the people will be accomplished."

Louis Blanc expects the same scientific task from democracy, saying:—"Democracy shall scientifically develop the means of saving industry from the frightful disorder in which it is entangled."

That the miseries of the human race can only be removed by the labour of deeply searching minds, is already observed by Plato, who says:—"Unless either philosophers govern in states, or those who are at present called kings and governors philosophize honestly and sufficiently, and both political power and philosophy unite in one, and until the bulk of those now pursuing each of these separately are of necessity excluded, there will be no end to the miseries of states, nor yet to those of the human race; nor till then will that government which we have described in our reasoning ever spring up to a positive existence and behold the light of the sun."

Cabet is however firmly convinced that "the doctrine of equality and fraternity, or democracy, may already be ranked amongst the glorious scientific results of the intellectual conquest of humanity."

PART IV. Concluding Subjects.

CHAPTER XL.—ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS.

OBJECTION.—Equality of conditions is a chimera; divide possessions into equal portions to-day, to-morrow this equality will have disappeared.

Answer.—Under a communistic organization of society the state will become the sole owner and manager of all property, and both the accumulation and subdivision of goods and estates will be rendered absolutely impossible.

Objection.—If all men were equal, no one would choose to work.

Answer.—Without work no one can exist in a communistic state. Death by starvation would be the terrible consequence of only a few days' refusal to work; for food, clothing, and shelter would instantly be withheld from him who neglected the performance of his allotted share in the common labour.

Objection.—If everyone were master, no one would choose to obey.

Answer.—Directors, managers, and superintendents of labour being chosen from the ranks of those who have attained the age of fifty, and have during the whole period of their active participation in labour borne an exemplary character as assiduous and intelligent workers, their authority will command great respect, and as every artisan in doing his duty will at the age of fifty enjoy the same privilege of becoming a master over others, there will be no more occasion for envy. Should several men be qualified to the superintendence of a certain

kind of labour, they may occupy the honourable office of supervision in turns.

Objection.—All those who have nothing to lose and everything to gain are enthusiastic advocates of equality.

Answer.—This is not quite true, for we find that some of the most influential advocates of Socialism and Communism have been men of means and property, who often sacrificed large fortunes in order to propagate their ideas, and that others often forsook lucrative employments in professions and literature in order to devote themselves to the elaboration and propagation of social theories. Robert Owen, who spent £40,000 in communistic experiments, and Proudhon, who forsook the bar in order to devote himself to the socialistic cause, are types of the disinterestedness in the advocacy of Communism. If the objection, however, refers to the modern proletarians who rise in insurrection in order to free themselves from the tyranny of capital, and endeavour to make it subservient to themselves in taking a large share in its profits, then the objection is true, but does not question their right to do so.

Objection.—Take away the right of possession and the free use of capital, and the reign of barbarism returns.

Answer.—Communism institutes common or national property as a source from which every individual draws private property, in the shape of food, clothing, bedding, lodging, tools for work, and means for scientific, artistic, and literary pursuits. The food a man eats, the coat he wears, the bed he sleeps in, the tools and instruments he uses in his daily avocation, in both physical and intellectual work, are in his rightful and undisputed private possession, and he enjoys the free use of them,—subject, however, to the wise restriction which forbids him to maliciously or wantonly destroy any article of the private property allotted to him by the state. By a universal diffusion of private property, Communism realizes a high standard of justice, order, and contentment, which is the very opposite of barbarism; a term more properly applicable to the present state of society, in which the possession of large fortunes and estates in the hands of a few barbarously deprives great multitudes of persons of the means and comforts of life.

Objection.—By abolishing money and traffic, Communism will reduce men to savages.

Answer.—If the communists of our time have been called by their opponents the barbarians of the nineteenth century, they, on the other side, point with greater cogency to the present anarchical state of society, in which cunning knavery robs the labourers of the fruits of their labour, and commits acts of injustice more savage, and wider reaching in their injurious effects, than the wild-men have ever committed in their predatory raids upon the peaceful settlements of civilized man.

Objection.—By living in common, without the use of money, the true ornaments of a nation—nobility, magnificence, splendour, and majesty—will be quite taken away.

Answer.—In the communistic state the nobility of birth and title will be replaced by the dignity and merit of labour and the distinction and privileges attached to its conscientious performance; magnanimity in charitable labour will be substituted for magnificent gifts and donations; splendour will be displayed in the architecture of public buildings, store-rooms, and associated homes.

Objection.—Little doubt can exist as to the tendency of socialism. It is a popular movement to support tyranny.

Answer.—In the present state of society a certain number of men who do nothing make others work for them, and thus practise tyranny. In a communistic state all idlers will be compelled to work, but all the other members of the community will share labour with them, and there will be no more tyranny.

Objection.—Men and women who have children unquestionably their own, will necessarily prefer the welfare of their offspring to that of other members of the community; therefore Communism is impossible.

Answer.—As the communistic state cares for the children of all with the same impartial zeal, no parents will have reason to have their own children specially distinguished and better cared for. It is, however, quite natural that in the present state of society, where so many children are shamefully neglected, many parents should wish and endeavour to withdraw their children from misery, poverty, filth, and disease.

Objection.—Property has always existed, does exist,

and will continue to exist in spite of its proposed abolition by the communists.

Answer.—Property, the same as slavery, has been established and maintained through ignorance and barbarism, for nations had as little idea of a community of goods as they had of book printing or the steam engine. Slavery, like property, has existed, and does still exist (in Cuba), but who doubts that its speedy suppression is near at hand?

Objection.—The wealthy have acquired their fortunes through industry and by means of their good qualities; the poor have become poor through idleness and vice; thus riches are the reward of virtue, whilst poverty is the wage of vice.

Answer.—In the greater number of instances, wealth is not acquired by industry, but is the fruit of inheritance, and a greater amount of pauperism is created through adversity and inheritance than by vice.

Objection.—The acquisition of wealth and power must be held out as an incentive for promoting intellectual, scientific, and industrial progress.

Answer.—It is easier to acquire wealth than knowledge. The feeblest intellects and the least numerous are generally the most successful in accumulating riches.

Objection.—There are compensations which render one position in the world nearly as desirable as another.

“ The labourer who, from rise to set,
Sweats in the eye of Phœbus, and all night
Sleeps in Elysium,”

is often happier than the king. Why, then, introduce the community of labour?

Answer.—The danger to life and limb, and the injury to health, which will always be connected with physical labour, cannot be compensated for by exemption from any trouble that may prevail in other less dangerous occupations and positions of life.

Objection.—Do not many rich assist the poor? do they not, by the employment of their capital, procure work for the people? do they not build schools, hospitals, almshouses, and practise generosity and benevolence in many other ways? All this could not be done if money were abolished.

Answer.—How generosity, charity, and benevolence can be

practised in a communistic state, has been shown in chapter xxxv., and as in the future social state all persons will be provided for by the Government, there will be no poor, nor will there be any wages needed from capitalists.

Objection.—Will not the uniformity of dresses, houses, and furniture be extremely wearisome?

Answer.—As the greater amount of labour required in the community is performed by machinery, it will be easy to combine variety of design with many objects uniform in certain respects.

Objection.—Great acts of injustice will be committed in compelling all men to work.

Answer.—Communism enacts no injustice, but by compelling all men to work, it realizes equal justice for all. Injustice reigns now, for many have to work in order to support many who remain idle and do not share the hardships and dangers of labour.

Objection.—The insufficient quantity of many objects of enjoyments, such as rare fruit, wine, game, etc., cannot be distributed without causing endless jealousy and bitter altercation.

Answer.—The distribution of such things must be effected by alternate consignment. Good sense and the spirit of equality and concord will smooth down all the feeble difficulties that may arise in the allotment of these articles of consumption.

Objection.—That a powerful and laborious man should receive only the same food and clothing as a slight and idle one; that a raw youth should draw the same rations as a mature man; that a mere labourer, with little more mind than a horse, should enjoy the same maintenance with a skilful mechanic,—are proposals so unjust as to be out of the pale of argument.

Answer.—But have not all these men the same stomach, the same craving of hunger, the same feeling of cold, the same want of sleep, and do they therefore not require the same amount of food, the same quality of clothing, and the same amount of sleeping and dwelling accommodation? Surely the opponents of Communism must at least concede for all a minimum level of equality, below which human existence becomes impossible.

Objection.—Through the fall of Adam and Eve, all men have become depraved. “The flesh warreth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh;” and in this war nine out of ten will succumb by passion subduing reason, and desire overcoming duty, and it will consequently be impossible to construct an improved state of society out of depraved elements.

Answer.—If mankind were so depraved that out of ten, nine are neglectful of their duties, society must have perished long ago; but as it is still existing, and even progressing, the amount of the supposed depravity cannot be so great. The belief in the depravity and inborn wickedness of man has, moreover, been greatly weakened by the glorious results of reformatory education and infant training, and the possibility of improving even the moral character of adults, as shown by Robert Owen’s experiment at New Lanark. The communists believe that man is an imperfect being, but possessing the faculty of perfectibility, is capable of improvement and social regeneration. They follow in this respect the views of the Swedenborgians, who ever teach the gradual improvement and elevation of the soul in the celestial abodes, and believe in the continuity of an unbroken progress of existence beyond the grave, where there are many worlds, in which the soul at last attains the highest heaven and enters into the presence of the Lamb.

As Christ has died for all,* in Him all are made alive, and the flames of hell have been extinguished by the Blood that trickled from the cross.

Objection.—Under a communistic régime of society, the industrious will have to share with the idle, the skilful with the clumsy, the intelligent with the stupid, the sober with the intemperate, the economical with the prodigal; and would it not be a revolting injustice if the diligent had to work and share the fruit of his labour with the idle, whilst the latter has been eating and sleeping without doing anything for the former?

Answer.—The idlers will be absolutely deprived of all means of subsistence by the communistic state; they will consequently

* 1 Cor. xv. 22.

be unable to appropriate to themselves the fruits of the labour created by the hands of the industrious, and the latter will be the most vigilant in the detection and denunciation of idleness. The skilful will joyfully share with the clumsy, knowing that inability and clumsiness, if not coupled with idleness, are but natural defects and imperfections of human nature, for which no individual is responsible, or punishable with a lesser ration of the means of subsistence than is allotted to the skilful. The intelligent will entertain the same charitable view concerning the stupidity of others, and, when curable, will endeavour to remove it by instruction. Prodigality and intemperance will be entirely suppressed by the abolition of money and luxury, and by the state providing food, drink, clothing, and furniture to all. In a communistic state no idler will get anything to eat, nor have a bed to sleep in; and the industrious will consequently never experience the injustice of seeing the fruits of his labour wrongly distributed to those who have been eating and sleeping whilst he had to work.

Objection.—Nature, anterior to society, has created men unequal in sex and colour, in stature and strength, in beauty and fecundity, in intelligence and genius. Amongst all the countless objects of the creation, no two individuals of the same species, no two men, no two animals, and not even two leaves of the same tree, are exactly alike. The infinite wisdom of the Almighty has ordered this inequality, and to substitute equality for it is a revolt against the aim and will of the Creator.

Answer.—The inequality of sex, colour, stature, strength, beauty, fecundity, etc., can make no perceptible difference in the demand for the necessary means of subsistence, for all men, without distinction, can satisfy their bodily wants with an almost equal quantity of articles of consumption, varying but within a narrow compass. Men who are not gluttons will still their hunger with an amount of animal food varying scarcely a few ounces. The material for covering the body of some giant frames will perhaps require a couple of yards more, but it will be of almost uniform measure for ordinary sized statures, and dwarfs will save in cloth the surplus needed for giants.

Bodily strength, although greatly different in two persons, if

used diligently, requires but an equal amount of effort in both the weak and the strong. Both in the application of bodily strength and in the satisfaction of our wants, equality ought to be measured by the capacity (application, effort) and by the want of the consumer, and not by the intensity of the work and quantity of the objects consumed. The man who, possessing one degree of strength, raises a weight of ten pounds, works equally as hard as he who, having a quintuple strength, raises a weight of fifty pounds. Again, the man who, to appease a burning thirst, drinks a bottle of water, does not enjoy more than his fellow man who, with a less ardent thirst, swallows only a pintful. The end of the community in question is equality of enjoyments and of labour, and not that of the things to be consumed, or of the task of labour, in which there may exist a slight variation without interfering in the least with the equal enjoyment of all.

Although it must be admitted that nature herself has established a certain degree of inequality in giving to men different physical and intellectual qualities, it must, however, be conceded that it has also implanted in all men an equal desire to be happy and to enjoy the blessings of this life by the full satisfaction of their physical and intellectual wants. And are not all inspired with the same love of equality? All have therefore the same claim to the things by which this happiness can be realized. Though great power of mind and strength of reason may give superiority to a man over others, any undue influence or oppressive act arising from it may be successfully counteracted by the combination of his weaker brethren for their common protection.

The great inequality of the intellectual powers and accomplishments amongst the men of old society arises chiefly from inequality in education, and who amongst them would have the audacity to assert that he is the most intelligent, and therefore fit to govern others? And if they cannot claim any privileges for their intellectual superiority, the less can they do so for their material sustenance.

The apparent force of the objection consists in the mistake of calling that "Inequality" which is only "Variety." The beings, whether leaves of trees or men, are respectively of the same quality, or kind, though various in structure.

Objection.—Individualism is the only *régime* that develops the intellectual and moral excellences of man, that guards his freedom and raises him in the scale of being.

Answer.—Individualism or freedom of action will be secured on a more extended scale in the communistic state of the future than in old society. An equal education to all will evoke and call into activity all those qualities of the mind which in mature life will become the instruments of free actions, and the characteristics of individualism. Everyone will enjoy the liberty of entering any profession, learning any art or science, and of choosing not only a particular kind of physical labour, but also, in most cases, the period when such work is to be performed. The time which every individual will have to pass in physical labour being of very short duration, he will have leisure for mental improvement and recreation. The freedom and possibility of travelling will secure another privilege to individualism, which at present lies only within the reach of the very wealthy.

Objection.—All common sense and all experience agree in concluding that a communistic establishment has no chance of success against individual enterprise.

Answer.—There are abundant proofs that the management of great industrial concerns can be successfully carried on by states and corporations. The state railways on the Continent, and especially those in Belgium, are highly lucrative undertakings. The gasworks managed by the Manchester corporation have, in 1873, realized the sum of £1,200,000, which was subsequently very judiciously expended in city improvements. And are not the army and navy, and the whole of the civil service, now including the post and telegraph business, in the hands of the state? and does not the government itself take its origin in the common and collective will of the people pronounced by the ballot box and public opinion? and is not universal suffrage, or an extended franchise, a sort of political Communism resting on the basis of civil equality?

Objection.—Nature has given to man the faculty of foresight, of economy, of self-denial, the love of property, as well as the desire that his children should enjoy the fruit of his labour. All these virtuous qualities of man would find no sphere of action under a system of equality, and

being opposed to his natural endowments, it must therefore be detrimental to society.

Answer.—In a communistic state, foresight and economy can be exercised to a much larger extent, as every member of the community has a voice and vote in the administration, and can thus directly influence the mode of the economical production of any article of consumption. The love of property and the vexatious cares connected with it will be joyfully renounced for the great advantages which the community of goods will offer to all; and when it will be seen that in a communistic state all children will not only enjoy the fruits of the labour of their parents, but also be participators in the fruits of the labour of all other persons, all parents will be thankful to live under a communistic organization.

Objection.—By taking away the right of inheritance, and hindering parents from accumulating capital and property for their children, the communists destroy one of the most powerful levers which act on human intelligence; they attack the paternal sentiment in its most gentle illusions; they prevent, in a word, the formation of capitals, and henceforth they build on sand, and not on granite.

Answer.—Michael Angelo, Isaac Newton, Louis von Beethoven, were never married, had no children to provide for, and were consequently not stimulated to the production of their immortal works by any considerations of accumulating fortunes in order to transmit them to their children. In doing their duty as diligent workers, the members of a communistic society will lay up a great treasure, not only for the benefit of their own children, but also for the progeny of the whole community, and, in the case of great discoveries and inventions, for the welfare of coming generations.

Objection.—In a communistic state of society we should lose every vestige of freedom; we could not repose from work when we liked, neither should we be able to travel, nor hunt, keep neither servants nor dogs, neither horses nor carriage, neither castles nor parks.

Answer.—There is great misconception in these assertions, which will be dispelled when the reader calls to his remembrance some of the principal arrangements of the communistic organization, described in previous chapters. It is true that

no one having undertaken to perform a certain work, can leave it when he likes; but repose after work and the interval between its cessation and recommencement will be much longer, sometimes extending over weeks, months, and even years. In a communistic state every one will enjoy the pleasure of travelling, hunting, riding on horseback (allowed by Cabet for sanitary reasons); dogs may be kept in the Associated Homes like some regiments in the English army who keep goats; and the present castles and parks may be assigned in turns to the common use of all, by making them the temporary and pleasant abodes of those who enjoy repose from labour after they have reached the age of fifty years.

Objection.—What will become of those productions of industry, arts, and sciences, which are the fruits of time and genius? Being no longer better recompensed than other descriptions of work, they will be altogether extinguished, to the injury of society.

Answer.—Sophsim! It is to the love of fame, and not to the thirst for riches, that we have been at all times indebted for the efforts of genius. Sciences and arts are in themselves so attractive that their votaries will not decrease, but enter them in larger numbers than ever when once thrown open and made accessible to all.

Objection.—Under a communistic system, the most eminent and meritorious men, who have distinguished themselves by heroic deeds of patriotism and philanthropy, by great discoveries and eminence in sciences and arts, will all be treated the same as all others. Ingratitude and injustice will then be the regulator of our social system.

Answer.—Great heroes, patriots, philanthropists, discoverers, men famous in sciences and arts, have always scorned pecuniary rewards, and have often even refused honorary distinction.

Objection.—By the abolition of money and capital all the gigantic enterprises and colossal undertakings which are so praiseworthy a character of modern civilization would be arrested, and progress would advance no more.

Answer.—The communistic state, having under its command the whole army of labourers and workers, will be able to concentrate any number of them for the execution of the most gigantic undertakings, and will be able to bring the most ex-

tensive national works to a speedier termination than the power of capital is capable of doing.

Objection.—Without money and riches men would be deprived of some of the most legitimate enjoyments and noble aspirations of their moral nature. They would be deprived of the means of being generous, obliging, beneficent, and charitable. The sublimest virtues which are the glory of humanity would become obliterated from our moral code.

Answer.—In a communistic state, generosity, beneficence, and charity can be extensively practised by the opportunities which charitable labour will offer to all generous, beneficent, and charitable persons. To perform labour for a friend, to assist others in the performance of their work, to nurse the sick and infirm, to attend to lunatics in the madhouse, to nurse babies, to dig graves, to lay the dead out and place them into their coffins, and to carry these on the shoulders to their burial ground, are some of the deeds of generosity, beneficence, and charity that will adorn the lives of the citizens of the communistic state.

Objection.—If society charge itself with providing for the wants of each and all, nobody would feel the necessity of working to procure his subsistence, and a man naturally inclined to idleness would abandon himself to a general indifference, which would render all labour impossible.

Answer.—Every healthy man has need of motion and exercise; reason must convince him of the necessity of labour; education will accustom him to it; a feeling of duty will incite him to it; approbation will encourage him in it; and if all these inducements should fail to allure him to labour, authority will step in and expose him to starvation should he persistently refuse to work.

Objection.—The love of money, the desire for the acquisition of property, has ever been a means of encouraging men to make those great efforts which have produced all the marvellous inventions and discoveries of which modern civilization is so deservedly proud.

Answer.—Inventions are very often the result of hazard, and if of genius, they have been worked out on the results of previous progress and researches. The completion of the steam engine could not have been accomplished by Watts without the previous attempts made by Newcomen and the

Marquis of Worcester.* Daguerre could not have invented photography without the aid of the great progress which chemistry had made shortly before his invention. All inventors, therefore, owe gratitude to mankind, but as they cannot bestow it to generations that have passed away, they have it still in their power to discharge their indebtedness to mankind by claiming no pecuniary rewards or other earthly recompense for their inventions and discoveries, and may, in this respect, follow the celebrated inventor of the wool-combing machine, who, immediately after its completion, was generous enough to forego all gains from patenting it, but made a public gift of it to the nation. (We have not yet heard that any monument has been erected in remembrance of this great and generous inventor.)

Sciences and arts offer, by their very nature, so great an attraction that many of their votaries have braved the greatest perils and sufferings, and some of them even persecution, imprisonment, torture, and death. Priestly, Livingstone, Galileo, Marco Pollo, and many others are noble examples of sufferings endured for their searching after scientific truths without any prospect of accumulating money.

Objection.—Abolish the abuses of money rather than money itself. The abolition of money is as foolish a thing as the doing away with the use of knives, which, though generally very useful, may in some instances have been deadly weapons in the hands of murderers.

Answer.—It will be easier to abolish money itself than to successfully suppress its evil influences; and the benefits derived by society by its abolition will far out-weigh the advantages of maintaining its use.

Objection.—Upon the whole earth, in all countries, amongst all human races, among all nations, in all ages, from the beginning of the world, till the present day, the system of social inequality has been prevalent, and has on the whole worked well, and advanced human progress.

Answer.—The present stage of human progress has only

* Of the hundred inventions described in the Marquis's "Century of Inventions," the last three may justly be considered as the most important; and if to this we add another, No. 68, says Mr. Parkington, they appear to suggest nearly all the data essential for the construction of a modern steam-engine.

been attained by heaping innumerable sufferings and hardships upon the labouring classes, first by slavery, then by serfdom, and lastly by labour on insufficient wages. That this state of oppression is still continued up to this very day has been shown in the first part of this book. Even slavery is still flourishing in the Spanish colonies and serfdom in the Danubian principalities. That the so-called free labour of England is, however, more oppressive than any species of slavery and serfdom, is irrefutably proved by the fact that the cotton manufacture of Lancashire has used up within the last ninety years, nine generations of men instead of three,* which is a striking illustration of the sacrifices of human lives that were and are still required for England's material progress.

Objection.—There are too many small proprietors of capital, land, houses, ships, factories, etc., who would all oppose the abolition of property.†

Answer.—Reason will enlighten them, and they will voluntarily renounce their claims.

Objection.—Who is to assort men according to their abilities? Who will put the right man in the right place?

Answer.—Degrees and diplomas for professions will be obtained by proving efficiency before a board of examiners; labour will be allotted according to ability, the degree of which will be known from the results of apprenticeship and previous performance of work; administrative work will be distributed by election.

Objection.—Everywhere, with all nations and in all ages, property and inequality of fortunes have served as a basis of society, and equality in the possession of goods has never anywhere been permanently established.

Answer.—It has been proved that the state of society as it has developed itself under the long influence of property and inequality is one of gross injustice to certain classes of society, and there arises from it the dire necessity of trying another organization of society, although such an one had never been permanently established before. In abolishing slavery, men

* See Ferrand's speech in House of Commons, 27th of April, 1863.

† An apprehension likewise entertained by the Swiss delegate at the Congress of the "International," at Brussels, 1874.

never considered its previous long existence, but acted solely on the behests of justice and humanity.

Objection.—All the communistic experiments hitherto tried have failed ; the great efforts of St. Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Robert Owen, and Cabet, have furnished no visible proof of the feasability of Communism.

Answer.—One grand cause of the failure of these isolated communistic experiments was the want of authority. They possessed no means of compelling the idle to work, which can only be done by an established state-government. They also retained the use of money, and, with it, its evil influences. They were directed by men who did little or no work, because they brought money into the establishment, or purchased the estate for the community. By the evil influence of money the land of some of these communities became so heavily mortgaged that it would have required the exhausting labour of civilized men working like beasts of burden, to satisfy the claims of the mortgagees.

Of the failure of the St. Simonians, Mr. Bronterre O'Brien says :—“The multitude were too enlightened to believe in the St. Simonian religion as a revelation, but not sufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was only a new device designed to rescue humanity from poverty and its endless horrors.”

In the New Harmony Establishment it was found that the members, trained from childhood to think of little but the pecuniary interests of themselves and their families, were unable to devote themselves heartily to the general welfare of from 500 to 1000 persons.

CHAPTER XLI.—CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF COMMUNISM, AND OF ITS INFLUENCE ON THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF MANKIND.

B.C. 1300. **M**INOS and Althaemenes give communistic institutions to the Cretans, and establish the community of goods and common meals in order to suppress envy and discord. Under these institutions, Candia,

B.C.

1300. a small island, increases its population to 1,200,000, and containing one hundred cities, is called Hecatompolis by Homer.

845. Lycurgus induces the rich to voluntarily abandon their possessions, and divides the land of Lacedemonia into 39,000 equal parts for 39,000 citizens, to form their inalienable portions. He suppresses luxury, puts impediments to the accumulation of wealth, introduces equality of education, and the enjoyment of common repasts. His institutions endure for five hundred years, and raise Sparta to the highest pinnacle of power and prosperity, admired by Xenophon, Aristotle, and the whole of Greece.

600. Solon, one of the seven sages of antiquity, remodels the institutions of Athens, and suppresses many abuses. By raising the nominal value of money from seventy to one hundred drachmas per mina, he relieves the tyrannical pressure which poor debtors had to suffer from rich creditors, and forbids the latter to seize the persons of the former, and to drag them into serfdom and slavery. He brands idleness as a heinous and infamous crime, and makes it an indictable offence before the Areopagus, the highest Athenian tribunal of justice. He makes bribery a capital crime, and enacts the punishment of death both against the giver and receiver of a bribe.

586. Pythagoras establishes equality of living amongst his pupils, who form a community in Crotona, known as the Pythagorean confraternity. He infuses into the bosoms of his disciples the culture of friendship, and teaches that friends are in duty bound to assist each other under all circumstances.

500. Servius Tullius, sixth King of Rome, relieves debtors from falling into servitude when unable to pay, and divides the Crown lands amongst the plebeians; but the patricians having held these lands for many years at a nominal rental, effect his destruction and preserve their privileges.

350. Plato writes his celebrated Dialogue "The Republic," in which Socrates, the principal interlocutor, expounds

B.C.

350. the community of goods, common education, and the admission of women to the employments in the service of the state.

340. Sparta begins to forsake the wise institutions of Lycurgus, and a period of decadence is chiefly brought about by the permission given for selling or giving away landed properties, and is further accelerated by the evil influences of the conquest of Athens by Lysander (404), who carrying away an immensely rich booty into Sparta, creates riches by robbery, and corrupts the people. The 39,000 original allotments of land made by Lycurgus are now consolidated into one hundred large estates, and a great number of citizens become destitute.

330. King Agis attempts the restoration of the laws of Lycurgus in Sparta, but is assassinated by the rich at the instigation of Leonidas.

226. Cleomenes succeeds in re-establishing the institutions of Lycurgus, and under their influence, Sparta gathers new strength, and offers a powerful resistance to the Macedonians.

188. The ascendancy of the Romans destroys every vestige of community life amongst the Spartans.

133. The Gracchi, seeing great numbers of the citizens of Rome reduced to abject poverty and with not an inch of land whereupon to build a sepulchre for the deposition of their ashes, propose an agrarian reform, by which all those who possessed more than five hundred acres should be obliged to cede the surplus against compensation for distribution amongst the poor. Both the Gracchi perish for their well intentioned efforts of benefitting the poor, and the patricians retain the hold of their large estates.

A.D.

30. Christ teaches that all men are brethren, and that they ought to love each other, and even their enemies (St. Matthew xxiii. 8 ; xxii. 39 ; iv. 43, 44).

40. The first Christians practise the community of goods under the guidance of the apostles, and are of one

A.D.

40. heart and one soul; neither say any of them that ought of the things which he possesses are his own; but they have all things in common. Neither is there any among them that lack; for as many as are possessors of lands or houses sell them, and bring the prices of the things that are sold, and lay them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution is made unto every man according as he has need (Acts. iv. 32, 34, 35).
60. Apollonius of Thyan, a Pythagorean and contemporary of Christ, teaches the same doctrine of universal brotherhood and community of goods.
120. Plutarch adheres to Plato's ideas of having all things in common, and urges the establishment of communities after Plato's Model Republic.
180. Plontin obtains permission from the Emperor Gordianus to try Plato's institution by an experiment, and cedes him an abandoned and half-ruined city for this purpose. The intrigues of the rich courtezans of the emperor, however, hinder the realization of this project.
500. Boëthius resuscitates the principles of republicanism and communism in his "Treatise on Personal Servitude."
1143. Arnold of Brescia preaches at Rome the practical adoption of Plato's doctrine of the community of goods.
1492. At the discovery of America it is found that the empire of Peru is organized on a communistic basis, and that it has existed for four hundred years under the institution of the community of goods.
1500. Sir Thomas More, High Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry VIII., gives in his "Utopia" * a com-

* Mr. Sargent thinks that Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" was not written for the mere amusement of its author, but that it was inspired by a praiseworthy sentiment of philanthropy by which it was destined to serve as a proposal for the removal of the destitution which followed the suppression of monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII.

The interest and curiosity which the "Utopia" has excited, at all times

A.D.

- 1500. plete and minute description of a model state organized on the communistic principle.
- 1524. John of Leyden and Thomas Müntzer endeavour to establish an equality of all earthly things amongst their followers.
- 1530 Mathysen, a leader of the Anabaptists, having taken possession of Münster during the Peasants' War, persuades its inhabitants to deliver up all their gold, silver, and other valuables for the common use of all.
- 1639. Campanella writes his "City of the Sun" (*Civitas Solis*) founded, like that of Plato, on the community of goods.
- 1656. Harrington in "Oceana" proposes that the possession of property be limited to a maximum of £50 rent, which at his time was equal to fifty acres of land.
- 1690. Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, says, in "De Legibus Naturæ," that the foundation of society should be based on the principles of fraternity and universal benevolence, and that there should be an equal partition of the land, for God has created the land for all. He also says that the rich ought to give their superfluity to the poor.
- 1750. David Hume proposes the establishment of a republic for Great Britain on the principle of universal suffrage and the division of the country into one hundred federal republican states, counting 10,000 representatives of the people.
- 1780. Pastor Oberlin of Ban de la Roche in Elsass establishes the first infant school, in which young children are taken care of during the time their parents are at work in the fields; and introduces the use of the celebrated "creches" for the reception of babes almost from the moment of their birth.
- 1770. Helvetius proposes the division of France into thirty confederated republics, each of which should send four

and with all nations, is seen at its uninterrupted publication, having till now amounted to fifteen editions in Latin, ten in English, three in French, and one in Italian.

A.D.

1770. deputies to a central parliament, consisting of 120 members.
Jean Jacques Rousseau powerfully writes against the prevailing system of inequality, and proves that under all possible circumstances the possession of land by any private individual is usurpation, and that even the labour of first cultivation can give no rightful title of ownership.

1792. The French Convention proclaims the equality and fraternity of all nations, and arouses them to the cause of freedom.

1793. Robespierre enumerates the rights of man, and conceives a vast plan of regeneration and reform for society, by which the poor would be for ever delivered from the oppression of the rich, and by which the reign of morals, fraternity, and real happiness would be secured. But the counter revolutionary conspiracy of the 27th of July, 1794 (the 9th of Thermidor), destroys all.

1794. The French republicans break up the large estates in Crown and Church lands, and sell the possessions of the enemies of the republic, by which they realize a sum of £100,000,000, and create 5,000,000 freeholds, for 5,000,000 heads of families. To check any future accumulation of landed estates, they adopt the division of properties amongst the children after the death of the head of the family.

1808. Fourier (Charles) publishes the "Théorie des Quatre Mouvement," a work containing the whole of his celebrated social theory.

1814. The Rappists establish a community in Indiana, numbering 150 families, and live together in the manner of the first Christians. Each family has a house apart, and a plot of ground, possesses a cow and several swine, besides poultry. All other things, however, they procure from the common stock and store supplied by the common labour of all. The rich in joining them as members deposit all their property in the common stock, and the poor amongst

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- 1814. the new comers are at once provided for, and they have no lack.
- 1816. Robert Owen opens his celebrated institution for the formation of character at New Lanark, which by its great success and beneficial results gives the first impulses to infant schools, reformatory education, shortening of the hours of labour, co-operative association,* temperance societies, and reformatory prison discipline.†
- 1818. At Owen's advice and recommendation, the Prussian Government introduces an excellent system of national education, and the Dutch establish their celebrated system of pauper management.
- 1819. At the instigation of R. Owen, the great movement for restraining by law the abuses of the factory system begins.
- 1821. The first proposal made for forming a co-operative and economical society in London. The members were to follow different trades, would live together, either under the same roof, or in neighbouring houses. If collected under the same roof, their apartments would be warmed by a common stove, the food would be cooked at a common fire and served in a public room. They would kill their own meat, bake their own bread, make their own clothes, brew their own beer, and purchase tea and sugar wholesale. The society does not obtain a sufficient number of members, and is abandoned.
- 1822. A co-operative bakery is established in Glasgow.
- 1824. St. Simon, in elaborating his social theory, gives the first impulse to the philosophy of positivism and the scientific treatment of the social question.

* In 1874 the co-operative societies in England counted 400,000 members; the amount of capital invested in them was £2,800,000, and the business done annually was £11,500,000.

† "The Home Secretary of the English Ministry has just promised to take up the proposal of the Howard Association to provide for all prisoners profitable gaol labour in the interests both of the ratepayers and of reformatory discipline."—*Daily News*, Oct. 5th, 1874.

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1825. For the purpose of trying a communistic experiment, Robert Owen purchases in Indiana 30,000 acres of land from the Rappists, which till then formed the settlement of this society, and calls it New Harmony. In it the principles of equality, co-operative union in business and amusement, and the community of property, are to be carried out. It fails through the impatience of its members and the absence of authoritative supervision.

1826. Miss Frances Wright establishes a community at Nashoba in Tennessee, within the pale of which the marriage law has no force, and free sexual intercourse is permitted.

1826. Combe and Hamilton of Dalzell found a community nine miles from Glasgow, on 291 acres of land, consisting of 300 members. Each member has a debtor and credit account. There is no community of goods.

1830. Mr. Gordon, of Assington Hall, in Suffolk, establishes a co-operative farm of sixty acres, worked by five men and three boys; the profits of the concern are equally divided among the members. Such has been the success of this experiment that Mr. Gordon has since extended it. Two societies now (1860) exist, consisting of twenty-five members, who cultivate 336 acres, for which they pay a rent of £525 a year, or £20 each member.

1832. Enfantin persuades his followers to live with him at Mônilmontant under a community of labour and enjoyment.

1831. Mr. Vandeleur forms an agricultural community establishment in the county of Clare, and lets the farm of Ralahine, consisting of 622 acres, for this experiment. A committee elected by ballot among the members assembles every evening, and appoints to each man his work for the following day; no inequality exists. Goods are obtained from a common store, and the members live at the same table. So far as it went, no doubt can be entertained of its success. It ter-

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- 1831. minated by no fault in its organization, but by the proprietor's gambling misfortunes.
- 1833. Enfantin conceives the idea of cutting the isthmus of Suez, saying that men ought to show more enthusiasm for the great works of industry than for great military exploits.
- 1832. The Equitable Labour Exchange opened in Gray's Inn Road.
- 1839. Tytherly farm of 533 acres is worked on the communistic principle, and obtains some success. It is found that each member costs 6s. 1d. a week, and fares better than in old society. The scheme failed, however, because the men would not submit to any authority.
- 1840. Louis Blanc publishes his plan of the organization of labour.
- 1848. The French republic, on the advice of Louis Blanc, then a member of the provisional government, establishes the national workshops, but instead of employing the people in their respective trades, they send them out to the fortifications of Paris, to perform the necessary earthworks in finishing these defences. The men thus employed, numbering no less than 115,000, finding themselves disappointed in their expectation as to the establishment of real workshops for each respective trade, and the Government having even withdrawn the grant for this purpose, rise in insurrection, in which seven generals of the regular army lose their lives, and thousands of workmen on the one side, and great numbers of citizens of the middle class, who fought with the soldiery against the people, are killed.
- 1848. The French republic celebrates a great festival for the fraternization of all nations in the Champs de Mars at Paris, where the flags of all nations are displayed, and where a free meal is offered to all, without distinction of nationality.
- 1849. Proudhon opens a bank for the equitable exchange of labour in Paris, but his establishment is closed, by

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- 1849. order of the police, before one single exchange could be effected.
- 1851. Robert Owen issues an address to the persons of all nationalities who visit the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, under the heading, "Universal and Everlasting Peace and Good-will among all Nations and Peoples."
- 1854. Robert Owen, at his eighty-fifth birthday, calls a great convention of delegates of the human race, in order "to inaugurate the near advent of the millennium."*
- 1859. The Association for the Promotion of Social Science formed, at the inauguration of which Robert Owen made his last appearance in public.
- 1867. The International Working Men's Association holds its first annual congress, and raises the cry, "Working men of all countries, unite."
- 1871. The Commune† of Paris becomes a most formidable insurrection, largely drawing its revolutionary forces from the ranks of labour and the advocates and followers of socialism. Colonel Rossel joins the Commune for the avowed purpose of bringing about a better state of society; and the stonemasons and

* It is perhaps nearer than we expect, and, in the opinion of the author, it can begin to-morrow, if society is reformed as described in this book.

† Lord Rosebery, in his opening address to the Social Science Congress, held at Glasgow in 1874, said:—"Whatever may be thought of the Commune of Paris, which issued quaintly ingenuous decrees, and which ended in blood and iron, it will always remain one of the sinister facts of our age. Like the Ninevite king, it perished in a blazing pyre of what was fairest in its habitation, and the world lost so much in those flames that it cannot now pass judgment with complete impartiality. But as a gigantic outbreak of class hostility, as a separate attempt to found a new society in the very temple of the old, it has hardly, perhaps, received sufficient attention. Far be it from me to attempt to palliate the horrors of that disastrous conflict; they, however, are only terrible accessories. But the ominous fact of that sudden social revolution is a portent which cannot be blotted from the history of humanity. While human beings, then, remain human beings, and while efforts like these are made for complete social reorganization, a Social Science Congress has even more scope than a Parliament."

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1871. stone-sawyers, the most numerous body of working-men, determine to fight for the Commune, and publish the following document :—"Citizens,—In answer to the call that the country was in danger, we have taken up arms. That was our duty now that we are overtaken by misery and leprosy. We can only better our future by a sublime effort. The difficult epoch we are passing through must have brought us to serious reflection on the subject of our social position as workmen. We must ask ourselves whether we, the producers, ought to allow those who do not produce anything to live at ease; whether the system which has been pursued till now is destined to exist for all time, even when it is entirely opposed to us. Let us prove, by our attachment to the sacred cause of Democracy, that we are worthy of the considerations due to us. To our task, then, fellow workmen! for our employers only think at this moment how to profit by our misery, in order to extract still more from us if possible. If we are true to ourselves, we shall check their base rapacity. For the Syndical Chamber of Stonemasons and Stone-sawyers. Signed: Allain, Ballière, Bandier, Bonnetemps, Brès, Chanteloup, Sage, Gérault, Guilton, Hos, Jousselin, Lacroix, Laverniat, Leronget, Riberoy, Vallet. Paris, March 23rd, 10 p.m."

A P P E N D I X.

The Democratic Charter of the Future.

or,

OUTLINES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORMS IN GOVERNMENT, SOCIAL
ECONOMY, LABOUR-ARRANGEMENT, EDUCATION, LAW, POLICE,
MILITARY, POOR-RELIEF, &TC.

(*FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1870.*)



REFORMS IN GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

I.—REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1. Members of Parliament to be elected by universal suffrage.
2. Voting for parliamentary representation to be protected by the ballot.
3. Parliament to be renewed by new elections at biennial intervals.
4. All electoral districts to contain an equal number of voters.
5. Any member of Parliament not satisfying his electors to be forced to resign by the will of one-third majority of his constituency.
6. Parliament to be permanent by appointing a committee to sit during the recess.
7. Minorities to be represented in Parliament, if their votes amount to two-thirds of the whole of the votes obtained by the successful candidate in one and the same election.
8. The representatives of minorities to possess no voting powers in Parliament, but to have a right of participating in the debates.
9. Public receptions of deputations at the bar of the House of Representatives to be granted to all parties, if numbering more than 100 persons, and if introduced by three members of Parliament.
10. Honorary members* to the House of Representatives to be chosen by two-thirds majority of the House itself.
11. The number of honorary members not to exceed one-tenth of the total number of representatives elected by the national constituencies.
12. Honorary members may also be chosen from other than British nationalities.
13. Honorary members to enjoy only corresponding and debating privileges.

* Lafayette, father and son, were both honorary members of the American Congress.

14. Members of Parliament to receive liberal payment, but such payment to be proportionate to the number of sittings attended and the time spent in parliamentary business.
15. The total number of members elected by the national constituencies to the House of Representatives to be 1000.
16. The present powers of the Executive to be limited and gradually transferred to Parliament.
17. The various ministerial departments of the Government to be controlled by permanent parliamentary committees.
18. No minister to propose any measure to Parliament if not previously approved of by the respective parliamentary committee.
19. The present political liability between the members of the cabinet and their conjoint action under the leadership of a Premier to be dissolved, and each minister to be appointed or dismissed by Parliament.

II.—ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND CREATION OF A BRITISH SENATE.

1. Hereditary legislation to be suppressed by the exclusion of all those who hitherto sat in the House of Lords in virtue of their titles of nobility.
2. The total number of Senators not to exceed half the number of representatives in the Lower House.
3. To be entitled to sit in the senate: (a) the judges, after ten years of official duty; (b) the members of the House of Representatives, after having served the nation for more than ten years without one single instance of revocation from their constituencies.
4. The wanting number of Senators to be completed by popular nominations, in which all the constituencies shall take parts at decennial periods. From these nominations, which always will exceed the number of Senators required, Parliament is to make a final selection.
5. The Senate is to be subordinate to the House of Representatives.
6. The Senate not to have an absolute power of rejecting a Bill passed by the House of Representatives.
7. Any Bill previously passed by the House of Representatives and afterwards amended or disagreed with by the Senate, to be returned to the Lower House for reconsideration, but when laid a second time before the Senators, they can by a two-thirds majority submit its rejection to the direct vote of the people.
8. All measures initiated and adopted by the Senate to be subject

to the deliberation of the Lower House. Their adoption or rejection by the latter to be final.

9. The Senate to be a high court of appeal in all civil and criminal processes.
10. One Senator to join each ministerial committee.
11. Senators to receive payment, and not to be under forty years of age when entering upon their senatorial duties.

Second Stage of Progress.—Ulterior Forms.

Application of the Federative Principle.

1. Local Parliaments to be erected in the midst of all large centres of population and for the representation of separate nationalities.
2. Local Parliaments to sit in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, etc.
3. Delegates from the local Parliaments to form a central legislative assembly.
4. The initiation of Bills to be vested in the local Parliaments alone.
5. Any measure passed by any of the local Parliaments to be reconsidered, amended, passed, or rejected by the central assembly.
6. The confederative principle first to be applied to separate countries and finally to embrace whole continents. There shall be united states in Europe as well as in America.
7. No Senate to exist in this stage of political process.
8. The ministers of the Executive to be appointed by the central Parliament.

Third Stage of Progress.—Communistic Enactments.

Final realization of pure Democracy.

1. Representative Governments to cease altogether, and to be superseded by legislation and government directly emanating from the people.
2. Local Parliaments for every thousand of the adult population to be organized.
3. These fractional Parliaments to be mutually connected one with the other by telegraphic communication, by which means the decision of the whole nation could be ascertained in the shortest time imaginable.

ECONOMICAL AND FINANCIAL REFORMS.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

1. Reduction and final extinction of the national debt to be effected by converting its principal into terminable annuities and transferring it to a larger number of holders.
2. The income and property-tax to be graduated and payable by all.
3. All commercial transactions to be registered, taxed or licensed.
4. A quarterly public audit of the books of all tradesmen, merchants, and companies to be enforced.
5. In cases where capital is fluctuating or difficult to be traced, a license to be required.
6. All sums of money lent being twice paid over by an annual interest not exceeding 8 per cent. to become extinct.
7. This extinction to be effected by an annual reduction of the principal amounting to one half of the yearly interest.
8. The rate of the annual interest to be proportionally lower the larger the sum of money lent; 8 per cent. for all amounts under and not exceeding £1000; $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for sums from £1000 to £5000, and 2 per cent. for those exceeding £10,000.
9. The rate of interest not to exceed 8 per cent.
10. The state to become the sole owner of all property in land, houses, mines, docks, canals, fisheries, insurance and provident societies, banks, water and gas works, railways, telegraphs, etc.
11. All expropriation to be effected through equitable compensation.
12. All national property to be administered or let under the most advantageous regulations.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Reforms.

1. Lending money on interest to be entirely prohibited.
2. The State to become the exclusive owner of all property, the only employer of labour, the sole manager of industry, manufactures, and commerce.
3. All labour and employment to be paid in money according to the ability of the employed.

Third Stage of Progress. Communistic Enactments.

1. The power of capital to be finally annihilated by the total abolition of money and inheritance.

2. The nationalisation of property to extend to all articles of produce, be they the result of physical labour, mental application, or emanations of genius.

3. Equal obligation to work to be imposed on all the members of the community; idleness to be declared a crime, and punished accordingly.

4. The whole wealth and comforts of the nation to be equally shared by all.

5. Physical labour to be equally distributed according to physical capability; for if it is attractive, there will be no difficulty in its distribution, and if it is repugnant, we have no right to assign its performance to the working classes alone, as is the case in the present state of society.

REGULATIONS FOR NATIONALISING LANDED AND HOUSE PROPERTY.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

1. The law of primogeniture and entail to be abolished.

2. All landed and house property to be placed under the stewardship of the state.

3. The present landlords to be dispossessed of their property, and to receive equitable compensation, either by payment from the State, or by purchase from the tenants.

4. Tenants to have a right of freeing themselves from the present owners by paying quitrents for a term of twenty-five years.

5. Such quitrents to begin at an abatement of one-fourth of the present rents paid for landed and house property.

6. Tenants under the state's stewardship to pay a tax to Government for the land, 10 per cent. on the value of produce, and for houses 20 per cent. on all premises relet to sub-tenants.

7. Each tenant, of either landed or house property, to be restricted to one holding only.

8. Farms to be of moderate standard sizes; the largest of them not to exceed 100 acres.

9. Large houses to be let by the State in separate tenements.

10. The subletting and subdivision of regular sized farms to be prohibited.

11. Permanence of land tenure to be secured on condition of satisfactory cultivation.

12. Permission of transfer or sale of tenant-right to be granted on payment of a moderate transfer fee to Government.

13. In case of the death of the occupier, preference of tenure to be given to the widow or one of the children of the late tenant.

14. Personal occupancy of a house, or part of it, to be a condition of tenure.
15. All landed and house property to undergo a decennial valuation.
16. All competent agricultural labourers to be settled upon the national farm-allotments.
17. All other agricultural labourers, if married, but not feeling inclined to rent farms from the state, to have a claim to a neatly built cottage and two acres of land attached to it.
18. All persons who have hitherto partially practised husbandry on the common-lands, to have a claim to be settled on the national farms.
19. Workmen and tradespeople in towns and villages to have the first claim to become householders under the state's stewardship.
20. Every married workman whose habitation or occupation is in or near the country, to have a claim to one acre of land for useful cultivation.
21. Free agricultural colonies to be formed for the unemployed.
22. The able-bodied pauper population to be transferred to agricultural colonies.
23. All waste and common lands to be placed under the guardianship of the State.
24. An imperial land and property bank to be founded.
25. Pecuniary parliamentary grants to be paid to those noblemen and members of the landed gentry who voluntarily abdicate their present ownership, and place their lands in the hands of the state for national distribution.
26. The mansions and parks of the great landowners to be converted into places of public recreation and retreat; care being taken that special provisions for the preservation of historic buildings and places be made.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Reforms.

The land and house tax to reach such a scale as will gradually equalize the means of living of the agricultural and industrial population.

Third Stage of Progress. Cultivation of the land and arrangement of the dwellings of the people in the communistic state.

1. Individual farm-holdings to be superseded by the state becoming the only cultivator of the soil.

2. National husbandry practised by the state to be on a scale of the largest dimensions as to the size of the fields, the application of machinery, and the number of the people engaged in the various agricultural operations.

3. Large numbers of the industrial population of the towns to be periodically sent into the country in order that they may acquire the habit of executing the most extensive agricultural operations in the shortest time.

4. The whole of the population of a communistic state to dwell in model dwelling-houses, each of them accommodating large numbers of the people.

5. The industrial centres of the population to be of such magnitude as will admit of the easiest interchange between trade, manufactures, and commerce.

INDUSTRIAL REFORMS.

First Stage of Progress. Immediate Requirements.

1. A tax under the name of the "Industrial Relief Tax" to be imposed upon all employers of labour.

2. This tax to be levied at a uniform rate for every person employed, be it in manual labour or mental occupation, and for whose employment wages or salaries are paid.

3. The money accruing from this tax to constitute the Industrial Relief Fund.

4. This fund to be employed : for pensions to aged workmen ; for relieving all cases of disease and injury ; for compensations to workmen in cases of loss of employment, over which they had no control.

5. In order to effect a more general and equitable participation of the working classes in the wealth of the nation, an assistant wage to be paid by the state to all persons during the time they remain in active employment.

6. The funds for the payment of the assistant wage to be drawn from the income and property tax, from the commercial transaction tax, from the rent or income derived by the state from lands, houses, mines, railways, etc., after a previous deduction from these sources of wealth has been made for the national expenditure.

7. The assistant wage to be higher for those employed in dangerous, unhealthy, and repulsive labour.

8. The assistant wage paid to the workman to be graduated, proportionally to his age. It shall begin to be paid to him at the age of twenty, and rise in four successive periods of ten years each.

9. The assistant wage is also to bear a certain proportion to the wants and number of each family.
10. A minimum wage for all trades, occupations, and employments annually to be fixed by Parliament.
11. The minimum wage to be highest for dangerous and unhealthy employment.
12. A reduction of the hours of labour for all employments to be enforced by Parliament.
13. Where uninterrupted or lengthened employment prevails, as is the case with sailors for instance, the benefit of shorter hours of labour to be realized by an equivalent augmentation of the minimum wage.
14. Working overtime to be declared illegal, both on the part of the person who performs it, and on the part of the employer who exacts it. Cases of necessity and danger, and the possibility of Unions agreeing to it, to be excepted.
15. No employer to employ foreign workmen, unless the respective Unions acquiesce in it.
16. All apprentices to be taught their trades in Government establishments. Industrial schools, national workshops, model factories, etc., to be established.
17. The number of apprentices admitted to any particular business to be regulated by the requirement of the trade.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Reforms.

1. National workshops, manufactories, and industrial establishments gradually to absorb private concerns.
2. Co-operation in productive industry to be powerfully supported by the state.
3. A ministry of national industry to be founded, having the management of all matters concerning industry, labour, wages, co-operation, etc.

Third Stage of Progress. Labour Arrangements in the Communistic State.

1. Equal distribution of labour and equal division of produce to take place.
2. The amount of production to be strictly regulated by the wants of consumption, care being taken to provide against the possibility of bad harvests, etc.

8. Occupations in the various trades, handicrafts, and manufactures to be obligatory to all.

4. If a high sense of social duty should not impel the required number wanted in each particular trade to come forward for the performance of the required work, the drawing by lot shall compel those upon whom it falls, to discharge their obligations towards society.

TRADES' UNIONS.

First Stage of Progress. Reforms for present requirements.

1. The extension and strengthening of Trades' Unions to be promoted with a view of ultimately incorporating them with the industrial ministry of the state.

2. Trades' Unions to obtain a legal standing on condition of paying one-third of their income into the Industrial Relief Fund levied by the state.

3. Trades' Unions contributing to the general relief fund to obtain legal powers for collecting the monies subscribed by their members.

4. All engagements and dismissals of the employed, be they Unionists or non-Unionists, to be booked at the offices of the respective Trades' Unions.

5. In those trades which do not possess any organized union, the engagements and dismissals of workmen to be effected in Government registry offices.

6. Members of Trades' Unions to receive an increase of payment from the Industrial Relief Fund proportionate to their contribution to that fund.

7. Trades' Unions to report to the Ministerial Labour Department all cases of disagreement with their employers, and to make suggestions for their removal.

8. Trades' Unions to propose the annual rate of the minimum wage to be fixed by Parliament.

9. The amount of wages agreed to be paid by the employer to each individual workman to be stated on his engagement at the labour-registry office.

Second and Third Stage of Progress. Functions of Trade Unions in the Communistic State.

1. They are to be the prime movers of the organization of labour and distribution of produce.

2. Each trade to have a board of twelve members and one president, elected by the trade.

3. These boards of trade to form integral parts of the industrial department of the state.
4. The boards of trade to furnish quarterly reports of statistical accounts of the amount of labour performed, the number of people engaged, the apprentices required, etc.
5. The boards of trade to make continual suggestions as to the method of saving labour and material, of diminishing danger to limb and life, and of avoiding those deleterious influences upon health which are more or less connected with every trade.
6. Each board of trade shall send one delegate to sit in the council of the industrial department of the state.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

1. Primary education to be compulsory.
2. In order to evoke genius, all primary education to include instruction in the rudiments of sciences and arts.
3. Even the very first steps in primary education to be accompanied by industrial training, such as the knowledge and handling of tools used in the various trades, in order to prepare all children for the apprenticeship in the national workshops and industrial training establishments.
4. Children to be partially or entirely fed and lodged in Government boarding schools, should their parents be desirous of placing them there and paying for them.
5. A gradual rising or promotion through all the educational establishments of the state, from the infant school to the university, to be accessible to the children of the poorest citizen. For this purpose a large sum to be set aside from the national exchequer, and to be awarded as stipends, premiums, and scholarships to successful and meritorious students.

Second and Third Stage of Progress. Education in the Communistic State.

1. All children to be lodged, boarded, clothed, and trained in Government educational establishments, and to be maintained at the expense of the State.
2. Frequent intercourse between parents and children to be permitted.
3. The duty of teaching to be obligatory to all citizens, and to be performed by alternating relays of teachers.

JURIDICAL REFORMS.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

1. A code of civil and criminal law, and the mode of its administration, to be elaborated by a body of eminent lawyers on principles previously laid down by Parliament.
2. The results of all punishments to be received in decennial periods. Crimes decreasing or increasing during a period of ten years, to be followed in the next ten years by corresponding diminution, or augmentation of penalty.
3. Every man who possesses the elective franchise to be eligible for the jury.
4. Every jury to consist of twenty-five members, and their verdicts to be given by simple majority.
5. Jurymen to be paid for loss of time at a scale fixed by law.
6. The number of judges at every trial to be five.
7. The senior judge to pronounce sentence.
8. The sentence to be passed on the accused may either be one in which all the five judges concur, or in which they differ. In cases of difference the dissenting judges to propose separate sentences.
9. In both cases of either concurrence or disagreement, the proposed sentence, or sentences, to be subjected to the final confirmation of the jury.
10. In cases of different sentences being proposed by the judges the jury to choose one of them by simple majority.
11. In cases of the judges and jury failing to agree, after a sufficient time for deliberation, the case shall be laid before the Senate, if of the first magnitude.
12. In cases of lesser crimes or civil actions the jury may recommend a mitigation or augmentation of any of the sentences proposed by the judges.
13. This recommendation to be acted upon by the senior judge, and his sentence to be a final decision in the case.
14. Every criminal or civil process to lie under the management of the following judicial powers: One Government prosecutor, 5 judges, 25 jurymen, 2 senior and 2 junior official lawyers for each side, the special lawyers for each side, and one people's advocate on each side.
15. The service of the public pleaders to be entirely gratuitous, and their selection to be decided by drawing lots, if several should wish to plead.
16. No lawyer to be allowed to plead as the people's advocate.
17. The official senior and junior lawyers to take cases in rotation

according to a list published by the Court's order, and to receive a moderate payment from the state for their services.

18. A stated number of services thus rendered to entitle junior lawyers to become seniors, and seniors special advocates, to be paid by private parties, when engaged as their pleaders.

19. The course of an action to proceed in the following order:—
 1. Indictment by the public prosecutor ; 2. Examination of witnesses by the judges ; 3. Cross-examination of witnesses, first, by the special and then by the official senior and junior lawyers ; 4. Examination of the accused by one of the judges ; 5. Pleading of the three lawyers of both sides ; 6. Speech of the popular advocate ; 7. Summing-up by one or more of the judges ; 8. Verdict by the jury of guilty or not guilty ; 9. Proposal of sentence by the judges ; 10. Confirmation of the sentence by the jury.

20. Quarterly sessions to be superseded by permanent sittings of the law-courts and immediate trials after the completion of the evidences.

21. Every person after having undergone imprisonment, and having been acquitted without the least stain upon his character, to receive a compensation, to be adjudicated by the judges upon recommendation from the jury.

22. All criminals to be employed in painful but productive employments, and the income realized therefrom to be applied (after paying for their food, detention, etc.) for indemnifying those persons who have suffered by criminal offenders, loss of goods, bodily injury, etc., if such losses and injuries have been judicially ascertained and compensation recommended for them by the jury.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Law Reforms.

1. The number of citizens composing a jury to be gradually increased.
2. More than one people's advocate to be admitted.

Third Stage of Progress. Administration of the Law in the Communistic State.

1. All civil and criminal actions to be brought before the popular assemblies or fractional Parliaments.
2. Each Parliament to have a permanent juridical committee, the president of which is to act as the public prosecutor.
3. The profession of solicitors, advocates, lawyers, and attorneys to become extinct.

ORGANIZATION OF THE POLICE.

SERVICE OF POSTMEN AND PORTERS IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

First Stage of Progress. Immediate Reforms.

1. Policemen, letter-carriers, and porters in Government offices to be recruited from among the working men of such trades in which sedentary occupation is often injurious to health.
2. Such men to do duty in daily or half-daily relays, which will give alternate relief between irksome labour and refreshing out-door employment.

Second and Third Stage of Progress. Communistic Regulations for these employments.

Police and subordinate Government service to be obligatory to all.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

First Stage of Progress. Present Requirements.

1. The purchase system to be abolished.
2. Soldiers to be partially employed in the construction of national works or in useful trades, and to receive increase of pay when so employed.
3. The time of service to be reduced and pay to be increased.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Reforms.

1. The standing armies of modern states to be superseded by national armament, into which every citizen, capable of bearing arms, is to be enlisted.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS.

First Stage of Progress. Immediate Requirements.

1. All Churches to be entirely separated from the state.
2. Both Houses of Convocation to be abolished.
3. Superfluous Church-property and ecclesiastical revenues to be appropriated by the state, and to be used for educational purposes.

4. Excessive endowments and lucrative livings to be curtailed.
5. Church patronage to be abolished; pastors and teachers of all persuasions to be chosen and dismissed by their respective congregations.

Second Stage of Progress. Ulterior Reforms.

1. All religions and sects to be provided with places of worship and salaries for their teachers, if their congregations are numerous enough.
2. No one to have permission to be a teacher or pastor of religious creeds, who is not otherwise a useful member of society by being employed in trade, manufacture, industry, science, or art.*

Third Stage of Progress. Condition of Churches in the Communistic State.

1. Religious sects and societies can only procure the means of erecting churches and places of worship by their own exertions, after having performed their share of work in the allotment of national labour.

SANITARY AND OTHER REFORMS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

1. A permanent sanitary committee to sit in all towns, making frequent periodical visits to all localities, houses, rooms, etc., and to report their proceedings to the local Parliament.
2. Every individual to undergo once a year a medical and surgical examination of the state of his health. This to be done for obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the diseases prevalent in certain trades and employments, and to counteract that neglect and ignorance which now proves fatal to a great number of persons.
3. All able-bodied paupers, vagabonds, prostitutes, swindlers, and all persons without legitimate means of subsistence, to be compulsorily employed in penal factories, mines, or agricultural colonies.
4. The deserving poor, the infirm, the aged, the blind, and all other disabled persons to be treated on the most humane principles.
5. The present inmates of poorhouses to be classified according to the degree in which they themselves have been the causes of their

* About forty years ago there was still to be seen at the door of a house in Dublin, a brass plate bearing this inscription :—Rev. J. Foley, Woollen Draper. This was a source of sarcastic mirth.

poverty. The less they have been guilty of neglect, the better is their treatment to be.

6. In the communistic state drunkenness will be declared a crime, as it makes a man temporarily, or for ever, unfit to discharge his duty towards the state or his family, as an industrious citizen. Moreover, drunkenness and gluttony will become rare occurrences in a communistic society, for all food and drink will be distributed by the state on the most economical and wholesome proportions, suitable to the natural appetites of all, and consistent with the preservation of good health and sound minds. Drunkenness will, moreover, be prevented by prohibiting the manufacture of alcoholic spirits, except for medicinal or manufacturing purposes.

THE END.

P.C. Hs











